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THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF PERICLES

MANY eminent foreign scholars have investigated the principles on which Athens conducted her Public Finance during the ascendancy of Pericles, but the subject has been strangely neglected in England, and no apology is perhaps required for drawing attention to its importance and for suggesting certain considerations which appear to the writer fatal to some views which have been widely accepted. Competent writers have come to such different conclusions that certainty is probably unattainable, but it is hoped that the theory propounded in this paper may be regarded as consistent with the admittedly scanty evidence. Finance did not interest Thucydides, who omits such important facts as the transference to Athens of the treasury of the League and the increase of the *phoros* during the Archidamian War. The inscriptions, though invaluable, are frequently so badly mutilated that they lend themselves to very different interpretations. Under these conditions dogmatism is obviously inadmissible.¹

It seems certain that in the period under consideration the domestic revenues of Athens were administered by the *κολακῆραι*, pre-Solonian officials whose activities can be traced till the period of the Sicilian Expedition, and who were abolished either in 411 or after the fall of Athens.² Most, if not all, of the monies derived from sources unconnected with the League were paid to them and disbursed by them, doubtless under the supervision of the *βουλή*. References in Aristophanes connect them with the *δικαστικὰς μίσθας*, and the statement of the scholiast that they provided the funds required for religious purposes is confirmed by inscriptions; thus they pay the salary of the priestess of Athena Nike and bear the expense of the publication of the decree concerning Eleusinian first-fruits.³ They possibly contributed to the costs of the statue of Athena Promachos,⁴ though they do not seem to be concerned with the greater works which followed. The sums which they administered must have been considerable, but there is no reason to think that they accumulated any reserve, or that the Athenian people consented to pay heavier taxes than were necessary to meet current expenditure. Just as the Romans abolished direct taxation after the conquest of Macedonia, so the Athenians during the period of their *ἀρχή* paid only indirect taxes, nor is there any evidence that an *εὐφορία* was actually imposed before the crisis of the year 428.⁵ Any savings were made at the expense of the allies and not of the Athenian *ὄγκος*.

¹ I wish to thank Mr. M. N. Tod, Fellow of Oriel College, for some valuable references to the recent literature of the subject.

² Wilamowitz, *Ar. und Ath.* I. p. 52; Meyer, *Forschungen*, II. pp. 136-7.

³ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 83, 83, 4. 93.

⁴ Dinsmoor in *A.J.A.* XXV, (1921), pp. 118 f.

⁵ Thus iii. 19. For the possibility of an *εὐφορία* before this, see Ditt.² 91, I. 47, which has been wrongly taken by Bonnier to prove that this part of the decree is later than 428.

The question is a much harder one when we turn to consider the administration of the funds received by Athens from the members of the Delian League. What was the real significance of the transference of the treasury from Delos to Athens, and what were the relations between the ἑλληνοτάται and the ταμίαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας? In view of the importance of the evidence which can be derived from the so-called Psephisma of Callias¹ it is necessary to begin by considering the date which should be assigned to this document.

On this subject there is very great divergence in the views of recent writers. To take the chief authorities only, Meyer, Busolt and De Sanctis hold that the whole inscription is one decree or two almost contemporaneous decrees, which should be dated before the Peloponnesian War in 438 or 434. Cavaignac, Francotte, and Bannier agree that the first part belongs to some such date, but wish to date the second part about the year 418, when the Athenians had to some extent replaced the money borrowed during the Archidamian War, and were looking forward to a possible recurrence of a period of borrowing. In the second edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* Beloch clings to the old theory of Boeckh, which Kirchhoff was supposed to have disproved, that the whole decree concerns the period after the Peace of Nicias.²

The first part of the decree records that, as 3000 talents have been deposited on the Acropolis in accordance with a resolution of the people, it remains to ascertain the amount of the debt owing to 'the other gods' and to establish a board of ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν on the model of the ταμίαι τῆς θεᾶς to administer the united treasury of the other gods in the Opisthodomos. Now, as is well known, officials bearing the former title existed as early as 429 from whom sums were borrowed during the Archidamian War,³ and it is pure sophistry on the part of Beloch⁴ to attempt to show that our inscription merely prescribes an increase in their number and a change in the method of selection. οἱ οὖν ταμίαι, who are mentioned in the inscription, are obviously not ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν but treasurers of the separate sanctuaries, whose funds are now to be combined.

These considerations prove conclusively that the first part of the decree must be dated before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. As regards the second part, whether it is a separate decree or a continuation of the first, there seem to be almost equally strong reasons for placing it in the same period. The final clause enacts that the sacred treasures are to be inventoried, and this we know was done from the year 434.⁵ Though in the extant inventories a few objects are entered as δατάθμια, a committee of all the surviving ταμίαι⁶

¹ I.G. I. 32; Hicks and Hill, 49; Ditt.³ 91.

² Meyer, *Epochen* II., pp. 89 f. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III. i., pp. 216 f. De Sanctis, *Athén.*, pp. 486 f. Cavaignac, *Histoire Financière d'Athènes*, pp. 104, 138. Francotte, *Les finances des cités grecques*, pp. 200 f. Bannier, *Éclairc.* Mus., LXX. (1913), pp. 397 f. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II. ii., pp. 344 f.

Of Levi in *Atti della r. Accad. di Torino*, LVI. (1921), pp. 113 f.

³ I.G. I. 105, 277; Michel, *Recueil*, No. 561.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁵ I.G. I. 117 f.

⁶ This seems the probable meaning of αἱ ἐκτάρας ἀρχαί, αἱ εἰδικαὶ αἱ εἰς λόγους αἱ πανθεοῦσαι ἐν Πρυτανείᾳ.

would not be required for such a trifling duty as that of weighing them. A more serious objection to the date which is suggested is based on the clause which enacts that a vote of indemnity (*ἀδεία*) should be necessary for any proposal to borrow more than 10,000 drachmas from the monies of Athena. Now the formula *ψηφισαμένον τοῦ δήμου τῇ ἀδείᾳ* first occurs in our record of the sums borrowed during the period beginning in 418,¹² and this fact has led some to conclude that the decree of Callias had recently been passed. It is true that the formula is absent from the inscriptions recording the loans incurred for the operations against Samos in 440 and at Coreya in 433,¹³ but the first of these is earlier than the date suggested for the decree of Callias, and the second is so near to it that possibly the new regulation had not come into force. Again, the absence of the formula in the record of the loan does not prove that no vote of indemnity had been passed, and is not nearly enough to justify us in giving a date to the decree of Callias which is not supported by other considerations. General acceptance has been found for Wilhelm's readings of the mutilated opening of the second part of the decree, according to which there is a mention of expenditure of money on the Propylææ, which must have been completed long before 418. It seems then that the balance of evidence is in favour of the view which has been put forward and that we may use both parts of the decree to illustrate the financial history of Athens before the Peloponnesian War.¹⁴

In considering the finance of Pericles it is not perhaps necessary to go further back than the decade 460-450, the period of the so-called First Peloponnesian War, during which the ambition of Athens reached its highest point. How were the expenses met which the Athenian state incurred when, as the well-known inscription records, she was fighting 'in Cyprus, Egypt, Phœnicia, Halieia, Aegina, Megara in the same year' ?¹⁵ It is tempting to apply to this period the fairly full information which we possess about the war which Thucydides narrates, and to assume that then as later the operations were financed partly out of income and partly out of borrowings from temple funds. But Cavaignac's protest against this assumption seems to be justified. He notes¹⁶ that 'instructive errors would be committed if we tried to estimate the cost of certain modern wars from the cost of others nearer our time: thus the Boer War cost England more than four times what the Franco-German War cost Germany.' It is possible that the earlier war was comparatively cheap; it is not certain that hoplites as yet received pay, and sailors probably received less than later in the century. Again, in these wars Athens had the assistance of important allies. When Boeotia was conquered at Oenophyta, no *φόρος* was imposed, but she was required to render Athens military assistance. Similarly Athens

¹² Hicks and Hill, 70; Ditt.³ 94; Michel, 363.

¹³ *I.G.* I. 177, 179; Hicks and Hill, 53. Ditt.³ 72. Cf. Busolt, pp. 218 f.

¹⁴ Epigraphical considerations prove that the surviving copy of the inscription was made after the Peace of Nicias. This is not, however, an insuperable objection to the

date proposed, as it may have been considered desirable to reassert the principles which the decree lays down. There is a similar difficulty about the decree concerning Eleusinian first fruits. (Ditt.³ 83. Cf. Busolt, III. 5, pp. 474 f.)

¹⁵ Hicks and Hill, 36. Ditt.³ 43.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

was helped in her campaigns by contingents from Phocis, Achaia, and Argos,¹⁷ who no doubt paid their own expenses. It seems then unnecessary to assume that the financial burden which fell on Athens at this period was a very heavy one. More important, however, than these *a priori* considerations is the fact that when the treasury of the League came to Athens in 454 it contained a very considerable sum of money. It is highly improbable that so long as the Delian League possessed a reserve Athens would meet the expenses of her wars by borrowing, as it is often supposed that she did, from the temple-treasuries of Attica, even if we admit what has with good reason been questioned, that at this date these treasuries contained considerable sums of money in addition to sacred objects. That the wars waged by Athens in the 'fifties' were waged by her as head of the League is proved by the evidence of the quota lists, that on the conclusion of the five-years truce in 450 a very considerable reduction was made in the amount of the *phoros*. It is impossible to state even approximately the number of talents which were brought to Athens in 454. Diodorus' figure (8000-10,000 talents) is far too high, and among modern writers Cavaignac suggests 3000 and Beloch 1500-2000 talents.¹⁸ But this controversy does not affect the main point. If even the smallest of these sums was still at Delos in 454, I cannot believe that Athens had recourse to the sacred monies of her own deities. As has often been pointed out, even the immensely wealthy temple of Delphi seems to have possessed no large sums of ready money, and had to appeal to the generosity of the Greek world when much expenditure was contemplated.¹⁹ The temple treasuries of Attica during the Peloponnesian War were principally composed of funds which the state itself had contributed, but the situation was quite other thirty years earlier, when the deities were dependent on their private resources.

Strong objections can then be brought against Meyer's theory, which rests on the assumption that the 3000 talents which, according to the Psephisma of Callias, had been deposited on the Acropolis shortly before the Peloponnesian War represent a repayment of what had been borrowed from Athens during the earlier period of hostilities less the contributions which had been made to the buildings. Firstly it is extremely improbable that between 460 and 450 the goddess possessed the enormous sum which on this theory she is supposed to have lent to the Athenian state, and, secondly, there is no need to assume such borrowings in view of the undoubted existence of a considerable reserve in the League treasury at Delos. As Meyer himself points out,²⁰ the 3000 talents which have been deposited on the Acropolis are not spoken of as a *debt* to Athena.

¹⁷ Thuc. i. 111.

¹⁸ The Strassburg papyrus (*Anonymus Argentinensis*) has been interpreted by Kell as stating that 5000 talents came to Athens from Delos in 450/49. But it is quite uncertain whether Delos is mentioned, and Wilcken thinks that the reference is to the reserve in the year 451/0. (*Hermes*, XLII, p. 390).

¹⁹ The reference in Thuc. i. 127, 143.

to τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἱερὰ καὶ ἄλλα as a possible source of revenue to the Peloponnesians suggests that by 431 considerable sums had accumulated in these temples, but this wealth may not have consisted of specie. In the sixth century Greeks all over the world were asked to contribute to the building of the temple: v. Herod. ii. 180.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 104 f.

although the projected payment to 'the other gods' is definitely referred to as τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἀφαιλούμενα. All that can be gathered from the decree is that in view of possible contingencies the state had arranged for the accumulation of a large reserve in the hands of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, who from the time of Solon had been regarded as regular magistrates of the community.

What are we to suppose was the effect of the transfer to Athens of the treasury of the League in 454? It is clear that since the φόρος had been assessed by Aristides the revenue had been more than sufficient to cover the outgoings, supplemented as it doubtless was by considerable booty.²¹ Even after the disastrous Egyptian expedition there still remained a surplus amounting possibly to several thousand talents. The one undoubted fact about the disposition of this money after its arrival in Athens is the payment to Athena of an ἀπαρχή of one mina per talent. What does this imply? Some writers have been inclined to see in the payment of the quota primarily a means of making clear to the allies that the funds of the League were *not* regarded as belonging to Athens or her guardian deity.²² If the quota was paid to Athena, the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ of the annual φόρος was obviously not her property. What then was done with the considerable surpluses which must have accumulated during the years of comparative peace which followed the transference of the treasury? Francotte imagines that the monies on the Acropolis were placed in various chests according to their origin. One chest contained the reserve proper, another the revenues for the current year, another any surpluses from previous years which had not yet been incorporated in the reserve. According to this theory the ἀπαρχή would be paid into one 'caisse,' the rest of the League funds into another.

Now is it necessary to suppose that because the ἀπαρχή was regularly paid to Athena, she received nothing else from the funds of the League? It is surely quite possible that the Ἑλληνοταμίαι of each year, after treating the ἀπαρχή as a first charge on their annual revenue, paid out of the remainder the expenses incurred in the course of the year, and at the end of the year incorporated any surplus in the ἐπεὰ χρήματα, which had already received the ἀπαρχή. Athena could, so to speak, count on a fixed *dividend*, but she might receive in addition a *bonus*, if the year had been one of peace and prosperity. On the other hand, if a crisis arose involving the state in heavy expenditure, she was expected to make advances to the government on the understanding that interest would be reckoned on the loan and the sums borrowed would be repaid at the earliest possible moment.

It is, I think, generally agreed that at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War there was no *state reserve* on the Acropolis other than the *temple reserve*, to which Thucydides refers in a well-known passage.²³ Cavaignac²⁴ assumes that shortly before 440, after the removal by ostracism of Pericles' opponent, Thucydides son of Milesias, Athena received 'une donation vraiment impériale' in the form of a gift of the whole state reserve amounting to about 6000 talents.

²¹ See the story in Plut. *Cimon*, 2.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

²³ E.g. Cavaignac, p. 61; Francotte, p. 166; Levi, p. 117.

²⁴ II, 13, 3.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

Francotte seems to think that *from time to time* money was transferred from one chest to another, from the state reserve to the reserve proper, the *ἐπα χρημάτων τῆς θεοῦ*, and an instance of such a transference he finds in the first part of the Psephisma of Callias. It does not, however, appear to be necessary to suppose that any monies were administered by the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* other than those which were definitely incorporated in the temple funds and regarded as 'sacred.' The Psephisma of Callias does not prove the contrary. At some uncertain date it had been decreed that 3000 talents were to be deposited in the reserve on the Acropolis. Year by year the *Ἑλληνοταμίαι* had paid in as large a sum as possible, keeping a record of the amount, and at the date of the decree the payment was completed. Of course the actual sum in the reserve was greater than this; Thucydides gives the figure as 6000 talents in 431 and says that the maximum had been 9700 talents.²² The state was now in a position to deal with a much smaller matter, the debt which at some unknown date—perhaps in 447/6 or during the revolt of Samos—she had contracted with the *Ἄλλοι θεοί*. The total amount concerned was a small one—200 talents if the second part of the decree belongs to approximately the same date. The payment was to be made out of *τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα πῦρ καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἔστι τοῦτων τῶν χρημάτων*, and the proceeds of a rather mysterious *δεκάτη*. It is surely legitimate to regard the phrase quoted as referring to the surplus revenue of the current year, the *ἐπίτευα*, which had not yet been handed over to the *ταμίαι*. Such surpluses had hitherto gone to swell the reserve, and were now available for another purpose. The clause in the second part of the decree which lays down that in future the annual surpluses of the *φόρος*—if the reading *κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἐκαστοῦτε περιόντα* is right²³—are to be deposited with the treasurers of Athens has sometimes been taken as proving that this procedure was a novelty, and had not been followed before the time when the decree was passed (i. e. 434 or 418). But on the assumption that both parts of the document date from about 435/4 it is surely possible to explain the clause as enacting that the procedure which had been customary while the state was building up a reserve was to be continued in the future. All funds handed over to the *ταμίαι* were to be regarded as *χρηματα τῆς Ἀθηναίας* whatever their origin. In his note on the inscription Dittenberger states that the clause requiring a vote of *ἄδεια* before sums over 10,000 drachmae could be borrowed refers to the 'sacrae Minervae pecuniae,' while the subsequent clause about the disposal of surpluses refers to the 'publicae pecuniae populi Atheniensium,' which, he says, 'in dominium deae non transeunt, sed publicae manent.' A similar view is expressed by Francotte,²⁴ according to whom money paid over by the *Ἑλληνοταμίαι* 'ne sera pas immédiatement incorporé à la réserve, mais formera dans les mains des trésoriers un dépôt qui ne deviendra définitif qu'à si on décide de le transformer en un versement dans la réserve. A partir de ce moment, il y aura donc à l'Acropole, outre les trésors d'Athènes

²² I see no good reason to question this figure in spite of the objections raised by Cavaignac and Beloch.

²³ Some would read *περιόντα* and trans-

late 'all sums coming in in the course of the year,' but this controversy does not seriously affect the point at issue.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 396.

et des autres dieux, un trésor de l'État; mais il sera géré, comme l'indique d'ailleurs le texte, non par les hellénotamiai, mais par les trésoriers de la déesse."

But this interpretation runs counter to the natural meaning of the passage. In line 54 it is decreed that τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας χρήματα are to be kept by the ταμίαι in the right chamber of the Opisthodomos. Now these monies obviously include the surpluses which have just been mentioned, and it is unreasonable to attribute a different meaning to the impression τὰ χρήματα τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας in line 49 and in line 54. It is incredible that, as Dittenberger and Francotte suggest, the term means in line 49 simply the money belonging to the goddess, while five lines later it means this *plus* an entirely different sum handed over by the Ἑλληνοταμίαι as a temporary deposit.

The view which has been propounded above—that from the year 454 all surplus revenues of the League were at once merged in the sacred treasures of the goddess—seems to the writer not merely to be consistent with the evidence, but to explain certain facts more satisfactorily than any of the rival theories.

(1) It was one of the main grievances of the subjects of Athens that the money which they paid for protection against Persia was employed on the beautification of the city. Now the extant remains of the accounts of the ἐπιστάται in charge of public works, as usually interpreted, make the complaints of the allies unreasonable and almost unintelligible. It is true that the commissioners of the Parthenon receive in the fourth, fifth, and ninth years of the work a sum of money from the Ἑλληνοταμίαι, the amount of which is doubtful, but which Dinsmoor puts at 42,675 dr. 5 ob. for the year 444/3. This he takes to be an ἀπαρχή consisting of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the φόρος of the year, and suggests that a similar sum was paid annually for 10 years. If this theory is right, the total contribution of the Ἑλληνοταμίαι to the Parthenon amounted to some 70 talents to meet an expenditure which Cavaignac takes to be 700 talents. As regards the Propylaea the Ἑλληνοταμίαι provided in the fourth year, and possibly every year, a sum which is definitely stated to be one mina per talent, i.e. 7 or 8 talents. If the sums provided from this source represent the total contribution of the allies Dinsmoor is fully justified in saying, "Since Pericles therefore used only the ἀπαρχή in his constructions and not the money in the treasury of the Confederacy, it would appear that the accusations by Thucydides were unjustified, a fact which would perhaps account for the victory of Pericles."²⁸ He evidently assumes that the ἀπαρχή contributed annually to the buildings is identical with the quota which had been paid annually to the goddess since 454, but even if we hold that it was a second sixtieth the total amount seems ridiculously small, not much over 200 talents in fifteen years.

The main contributors to the buildings are undoubtedly the ταμίαι of the goddess herself, and the Ἑλληνοταμίαι come lower on the list along with τριχοί, or τριηροποιοί, ξεροδόκοι (?), and ταμίαι Ἡφαιστικοῦ ἀπὸ Λαυρελίου. Surely the simplest solution of the problem is to suppose that the contributions of the ταμίαι were only rendered possible by the fact that since 454 large sums had been given to the goddess out of the funds of the League. The donation

²⁸ *A.J.A.* XVII (1913), pp. 64-5.

vraiment impériale²⁹ was made in 454 and the subsequent years, not all at once in 442 or thereabouts, as Cavaignac supposes. The relatively small contributions made by the Ἑλληνοταμίαι came from the φόρος of the current year, and may quite well be identical with the usual ἀπαρχή, which on this theory would be paid direct to the ἐπιστάται instead of passing through the hands of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ. Too much stress must not be laid on the actual amounts, which are badly preserved, but it is very significant that the ταμίαι stand first in the lists of contributors. It is unlikely that without subsidies from public funds the goddess would have been able to afford such a temple as the Parthenon. If Beloch's conjecture that her annual income in the period with which we are concerned was about 25 to 30 talents³⁰ is even approximately right, she could not possibly without help from the state have faced the expenditure of 2000 talents, which is the lowest estimate of the cost of the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and the chryselephantine statue.³¹ The language of Thucydides makes it clear that the Athenians made use of exactly the same treasury to meet the cost of the Propylaea and of the operations at Potidaea. If then the Parthenon was financed in the same way as the Propylaea it is necessary to suppose that in 448 the state reserve and the temple reserve were identical, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary it is surely best to go back to 454. Thucydides son of Melesias would have a strong case against Pericles if every single drachma which had been saved from the φόρος was at the disposal of the ταμίαι of the goddess and directly available for expenditure on the beautification of the Acropolis.

(2) The extant evidence concerning the borrowing of sums from the temple treasuries to meet the expense of military operations is consistent with the theory which has been put forward in this paper. These records invariably begin with the formula: τὰδὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέλωσαν εἰς τὸν πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον ἢ ἐς Κορκυραῖον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινου ἀρχοντοῦ. The ambiguity of the word ἀνέλωσαν is significant. The monies of which the ταμίαι had charge were still in a sense the property of the state and could be employed for purposes other than religious. The sums paid over to the στρατηγοὶ or Ἑλληνοταμίαι are not as a rule definitely stated to be borrowings, but the accounts of the λογισταὶ for the Archidamian War³² show that interest was carefully calculated, and that the possibility of repayment was at any rate kept in mind. It is unlikely that between 454 and 440 Athens was involved in military operations which could not be paid for out of income, except possibly in the critical year 447/6 when Euboea, Megara, and Boeotia revolted. At this crisis she very likely had recourse to the reserve, as in 440, but the record does not happen to be preserved. The fact that perhaps 1400 talents were borrowed in 440/439 for the operations against Samos, and that in 433 the generals who went to Corcyra were supplied with funds by the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ surely proves that at those dates there was no reserve fund other than the temple treasures. This is, indeed, generally acknowledged, and Cavaignac's date for the 'confusion' of his two reserves is largely determined by the largeness of the sum which the ταμίαι produced

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

³⁰ Cavaignac, p. 102.

³¹ Hicks and Hill, 62; Michal, 361.

in 440. But there seems to be no objection to supposing that the financial crisis of 447/6 was met in a similar way to that of 440, and that then too recourse was had to the *ἱερὰ χρήματα*, the greater part of which had accumulated through the generosity of the state in presenting to the goddess any sums which it had been unnecessary for the Hellenotamiae to expend.

The Athenians were more conscious than their ancient and modern critics sometimes allow of the dangers involved in democratic institutions. When Aristotle says that extreme democracies are ruled by *ψηφίσματα* rather than *νόμοι* he forgets the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, which exposed to prosecution an Athenian who persuaded his fellow-citizens to pass a decree which was *παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις*. So in their financial administration the Athenians were well aware of the risks of thoughtless extravagances. By presenting their surplus income to Athena they imposed a certain check on their impulse to spend it. If it was only about 435 that a definite vote of *ἀδεία* was made necessary before it could even be proposed to take large sums from the reserves, the fact that before this date the reserve was regarded as sacred money must have done something to secure that only at a crisis would it be drawn upon to any great extent. The proposal by Pericles of a pan-Hellenic congress to consider the rebuilding of temples destroyed by the Persians was unsuccessful, but in Athens itself he secured the expenditure of public money on the adornment of the city. This, however, was the only form of extravagance which he allowed, and he evidently wished the city to live within its income. He probably foresaw the Peloponnesian War, and our records make it abundantly clear that his financial foresight alone enabled Athens to emerge solvent from the Archidamian War without taxing her subjects more heavily than they were able to bear.

G. H. STEVENSON.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREATER PERFECT SYSTEM

ALYPIUS has left us the notation of fifteen Greek scales; afterwards reduced by Claudius Ptolemaios, in the interest of simplicity, to seven. But were these fifteen all the scales ever noted? Clearly there were others, which must have possessed notations. Thus:—

1. MIXO-LYDIAN. This scale is mentioned by many writers. Plato (*Rep.* III, 398) describes it as 'wailful.' Bacchius (*Enisagoge Harmonikon*, § 46) mentions and places it.

2. CHALABO-LYDIAN. This scale is referred to by Plato (*Rep.* III, 399a).

3. SYNTONO-LYDIAN. Plato (*Rep.* III, 398) describes this scale also as wailful. Athenaios (*Deipnosophistae*, XIV, 624 f.) quoting the poet Pratinas, mentions and by inference places it.

4. HYPER-MIXO-LYDIAN. Cleonidas (*Harmonicum Introductorum*, XII, 5) mentions this scale and defines its place.

5. HYPO-MIXO-LYDIAN. This scale, though not mentioned by Greek writers, has its name preserved in the Roman Gregorian 'Modes,' where it appears as the Eighth Tone. It is curious, though of no importance as evidence, to observe that the 'Final' of the Roman Tone is G; the note we shall claim to have been the highest of the vocal octave of the scale.

Three other scales, the Hyper-Syntono-Lydian, the Hypo-Chalabo-Lydian, and the Hypo-Syntono-Lydian, would by their distance of a Perfect Fourth from those already mentioned demand a place in the complete and perfectly logical System; and the total of eight additional scales raises the original number of notations to twenty-three, which is precisely the number which the suggested reconstruction needs.

The first step in our investigation is to get a clear idea of the alphabetical gaps left by the recorded fifteen scales of Alypius. This we can most conveniently do by setting out the characters used in each scale for one particular note; which has here been done for the note B selected for the purpose as being freest from difficulties:—

1. Hyper-Lydian	⊕
2. Hyper-Aeolian	×
3.	
4. Hyper-Phrygian	U

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5.	Hyper-Ionian						A
6.							
7.	Hyper-Dorian						Γ
8.							
9.	Lydian						Z
10.	Aeolian						H
11.							
12.	Phrygian						I
13.	Ionian						K
14.							
15.	Dorian						M
16.							
17.	Hypo-Lydian						O
18.	Hypo-Aeolian						Π
19.							
20.	Hypo-Phrygian						C
21.	Hypo-Ionian						T
22.							
23.	Hypo-Dorian						Φ

If the double octave scale for each of these scales is set out in accordance with the well-known principle for so doing, and blank columns are left for the unassigned numbers in above list, even if we include both Diatonic and Enharmonic Genera in the same diagram, it will be found that, with certain well-defined exceptions, the same letter runs in an unbroken diagonal line throughout the entire system. Almost every exception belongs to the Ionian and Aeolian groups, a fact which demands explanation, and will receive it a little later on. Meanwhile it is sufficient to say they are clearly attributable to an attempt to obliterate the distinction between the Major and the Minor Tone—the so-called Pythagorean Intonation.

If we now fill in the gaps with the letters which complete the alphabet, we get eight more scales, conformable in every way to those already noted; among which I have distributed, on definite principles which shall be amply justified, the names of the scales which have already been stated.

To bring them before the eye, the list of characters for the note B is repeated, with the letters for the non-Alypian scales interpolated:—

1.	Hyper-Lydian						Θ
2.	Hyper-Aeolian						*
3.	HYPER-MIXO-LYDIAN						Λ
4.	Hyper-Phrygian						Ω
5.	Hyper-Ionian						Α
6.	HYPER-SYNTONO-LYDIAN						Β
7.	Hyper-Dorian						Γ
8.	CHALABO-LYDIAN						Ε

THE GREATER PERFECT SYSTEM (TELEION)

The 23 Tropa (commonly called "Modes")

Modern Equivalent	Hypae-Lydian	Hypae-Aeolian	Hypae-Mixolydian	Hypae-Phrygian	Hypae-Ionian	Hypae-Synonono-Lydian	Hypae-Dorian	Chalero-Lydian	Lydiae	Aeolian	Mixolydian	Phrygian	Tonian	Synonono-Lydian	Tonian	Hypae-Chalero-Lydian	Hypae-Lydian	Hypae-Aeolian	Hypae-Mixolydian	Hypae-Phrygian	Hypae-Ionian	Hypae-Synonono-Lydian	Hypae-Dorian
A	U	A	B	Γ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ
G	Γ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ
F _#	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ
F	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ
E	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ
D	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ
C _#	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ
C	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ
B	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ	ϱ
B _{bb}	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ	ϱ
A	U	A	B	Γ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ
G	Γ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ
F _#	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ
F	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ
E	I	K	Λ	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ
D	M	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ
C _#	Π	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ
C	Ϛ	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ
B	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ	ϱ
A	Ϝ	ϝ	Ϟ	ϟ	Ϡ	ϡ	Ϣ	ϣ	Ϥ	ϥ	Ϧ	ϧ	Ϩ	ϩ	Ϫ	ϫ	Ϭ	ϭ	Ϯ	ϯ	ϰ	ϱ	ϲ

The Scales of Alypius are as faithfully reproduced here, except the Ionian and Aeolian groups. These agree in upper and lower limits, and his variants are systematic.

9. Lydian	Z
10. Aeolian	H
11. MIXO-LYDIAN	Θ
12. Phrygian	I
13. Ionian	K
14. SYNTONO-LYDIAN	Λ
15. Dorian	M
16. HYPO-CHALARO-LYDIAN	Ξ
17. Hypo-Lydian	O
18. Hypo-Aeolian	Π
19. HYPO-MIXO-LYDIAN	P
20. Hypo-Phrygian	C
21. Hypo-Ionian	T
22. HYPO-SYNTONO-LYDIAN	Υ
23. Hypo-Dorian	Φ

Note.—It must not be forgotten that the letters Δ and N were hardly ever used, never in any Diatonic Genus, and most certainly not considered in the counting of intervals.

After an inspection of this list, especially when supplemented by the complete diagram which follows, it would be difficult to doubt that something like Fig. 1 must have been the complete notational system of the Greeks; beyond which there was no further room for elaboration.

I have long suspected that the word RHYTHMOS, which occurs so frequently in musical treatises and is so impatient of intelligible explanation, referred to the *order* of pitch in which the various Tropoi succeeded one another; but this is a matter for scholars. Anyone can see from the preceding diagram the mainly tripartite nature of the groupings. Meanwhile I have borrowed the word as a convenient one for describing the inter-relationship of pitch between the Tropoi.

RHYTHMOS of the Scales as arranged by Pythagoras beginning with the lowest.

NOTES AND DEFINITIONS. A 'Unit-Step,' called by Plato (*Rep.* 531) METRETRON, is the smallest difference between two notes perceptible to the Greek ear.

It is an interval 1/19th of a Perfect Fourth; consequently there are forty-six unit-steps in an Octave.

A Major Tone (C-D) comprises	8 Unit-Steps.
A Minor Tone (D-E) comprises	7 Unit-Steps.
A Diatonic Semitone (E-F) uses	4 Unit-Steps.
A Small Semitone (F-F sharp) needs	3 Unit-Steps.

Highest Note of Vocal Octave. (Modern Name).	Greek Character used for it.	Scales.	Unit-Step to next sc.
A	A	HYPER-ÆOLIAN	2
	B	Hyper-Mixo-Lydian	2
	Γ	HYPER-PHYRGIAN	4
Unit-Steps to corresponding member of next Group			8
B	A	HYPER-IONIAN	2
	B	Hyper-Syntono-Lydian	2
	Γ	HYPER-DORIAN	3
Steps to next Group			7
C	Γ	Chalero-Lydian	2
	E	LYDIAN	2
Steps to next Group			4
D	A	ÆOLIAN	2
	B	Mixo-Lydian	2
	Γ	PHYRGIAN	4
Steps to next Group			8
E	A	IONIAN	2
	B	Syntono-Lydian	2
	Γ	DORIAN	3
Steps to next Group			7
F	Γ	Hypo-Chalero-Lydian	2
	E	HYPÖ-LYDIAN	2
Steps to next Group			4
G	A	HYPÖ-ÆOLIAN	2
	B	Hypo-Mixo-Lydian	2
	Γ	HYPÖ-PHYRGIAN	4
Steps to next Group			8
A	A	HYPÖ-IONIAN	2
	B	Hypo-Syntono-Lydian	2
Total Steps			46

ORDER OF PITCH—CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE

Curiously enough, the strongest evidence of the correctness of the propounded order of the *ῥυθμὸς* comes from a series of statements by Greek writers, apparently so absurdly self-contradictory that they have been abandoned by me for many years as hopeless and unintelligible.

They are consistent with one another, and seem to point to the conclusion

that when it was resolved to simplify the over-elaborate *Systema Teleion* by reducing the number of scales to seven, one on each degree of the scale, this was done by lumping together under the same name two scales, or in some instances three, not more than a Hemitone (4 Unit-Steps) apart.

This seems a somewhat clumsy way of effecting the desired simplification, and indeed leads in some cases to the most confusing results, as the two scales found under one name had a different order of intervals; but there is abundant evidence that such was the case.

Can this be the solution of *Monro's* propounded but unanswered question—'Were the Greek "Modes" keys or scales?' The answer being, in the latest stages of Greek music, both.

A rival simplification seems to have been proposed, and, I should think, ultimately to have triumphed; adumbrated by the unthinkable statement of '*Anonymi Scripta de Musica*' that finally all the scales were reduced to the Diatonic Genus of the Lydian Mode. The probable fact underlying this extraordinary statement will be dealt with at the appropriate time.

Meanwhile the promised evidence must be produced. For convenience of reference the order of the scales is given in the margin.

The *Eisagoge Harmonikon* ascribed to *EUCLID* states (*Meibom.* 20. 1) that there are:—

2 Lydian keys:

one higher, Lydian (9), and
one lower, Aeolian (10).

2 Phrygian keys:

one higher, Phrygian (12), and
one lower, Ionian (13).

1 Dorian (16).

2 Hypo-Lydian keys:

one higher, Hypo-Lydian (17), and
one lower, Hypo-Aeolian (18).

2 Hypo-Phrygian keys:

one higher, Hypo-Phrygian (20),
and one lower, Hypo-Ionian (21).

Cleonidas (*Harmonicum Introductorium*, XII, 5) speaks of the Hyper-Mixo-Lydian (3), also called the Hyper-Phrygian (4).

He also concurs with the *Euclid* statement regarding the Lydian and Aeolian keys.

1. HYPER-LYDIAN.

2. HYPER-AEOLIAN.

3. Hyper-Mixo-Lydian.

4. HYPER-PHYRGIAN.

5. HYPER-IONIAN.

6. Hyper-Syntono-Lydian.

7. HYPER-DORIAN.

8. Chalaro-Lydian.

9. LYDIAN.

10. AEOLIAN.

11. Mixo-Lydian.

12. PHYRGIAN.

13. IONIAN.

14. Syntono-Lydian.

15. DORIAN.

16. Hypo-Chalaro-Lydian.

17. HYPO-LYDIAN.

18. HYPO-AEOLIAN.

19. Hypo-Mixo-Lydian.

20. HYPO-PHYRGIAN.

21. HYPO-IONIAN.

22. Hypo-Syntono-Lydian.

23. HYPO-DORIAN.

Bacchius (*Ensaige Harmonikon*, § 46) states that the Mixo-Lydian (11) was a Hemitone (4 Unit Steps) below the Lydian (9).

Pratinas, as quoted by Athenaios (*Deipnosophistae*, XIV, 624 f.) contrasts the Syntono-Lydian (14) with the 'slackened Ionian' (13).

Cleonidas has a somewhat obscure passage, which, however, does determine the relative positions of the Hyper-Ionian and the Hyper-Dorian. He states that there are 3 Mixo-Lydian keys:—

Mixo-Lydian BARYTEPOS, which is the Hyper-Ionian (5);

Mixo-Lydian; and

Mixo-Lydian OXYTEROS, which is the Hyper-Dorian (7).

The anomaly is that this would place the Mixo-Lydian as number 6, which we have styled Hypo-Syntono-Lydian; but he himself has defined the place of the Hyper-Mixo-Lydian as the adjacent tone, whereas the two must be a Fourth apart. The only solution I can suggest depends on an impression which I believe to be generally held, though I am unable to remember definite evidence for it (it might be in Plutarch or Suidas); viz., that when the Hyper-Dorian scale was invented, it displaced the Mixo-Lydian. In this event the Mixo-Lydian might not unnaturally be transferred to a position as far *above* the Lydian scale as it had formerly been below—the exact position to which I have assigned it. There are large unsupported assumptions involved in this explanation; but if Cleonidas, in this anomalous passage, is referring to the *old* Mixo-Lydian scale, everything fits, and all goes merrily as a marriage bell.

EUCLID states that the Hypo-Dorian is a replica of the Hyper-Phrygian, as it can be played either from the lowest string of the lyre to the middle string, or from the middle string to the highest string.

This accounts on historic evidence for the positions of sixteen of the twenty-three scales; five others, the Hypo-Lydian, the Hypo-Aeolian, the Hyper-Syntono-Lydian, the Hypo-Mixo-Lydian, and the Hypo-Syntono-Lydian, are placed by the implication of the distance of a Fourth from the parent scale; and the remaining two—the Chalaro-Lydian and the Hypo-Chalaro-Lydian—must stand or fall by their inherent probability; the inference being almost irresistible that there must have been two more scales to complete the alphabetical scheme; the existence of the Chalaro-Lydian rests on the authority of Plato, and the Hypo-Chalaro-Lydian fits accurately into the remaining vacant place.

REDUCTION OF THE SCALES

The construction of the SYSTEMA TELEION might well be described as one of the most marvellous intellectual efforts known to the world; the more one studies it, the greater the wonder at the ingenuity with which all the

difficulties have been overcome, and a complete plan presented which, on paper at least, is absolutely flawless. I have ascribed it, without evidence, to Pythagoras; if any other brain occupied with the subject and capable of such a triumph existed, it is a pity that history has left us no record or trace of his name.

Still, the extreme complexity of such a scheme must have been trying to all but the most austere minds, and it is not surprising that a movement grew up in favour of a simplification. The first step, as shown by the lists of Alypius, was the reduction of the number of scales from twenty-three to fifteen. This was effected in a manner quite easy to understand. The scales as shown fall into eight groups, the middle one of each, as will be seen by reference, being one with a name connected with the Lydian. All these were discarded, and the reduction was at once effected. The scales which thus disappeared were the Hyper-Mixo-Lydian, the Hyper-Syntono-Lydian, the Chalaro-Lydian, the Mixo-Lydian, the Syntono-Lydian, the Hypo-Chalaro-Lydian, the Hypo-Mixo-Lydian, and the Hypo-Syntono-Lydian.

At a later period Claudius Ptolemaios further reduced the number of scales to seven, one beginning on each degree of our scale; and the puzzling statements of Euclid, Cleonidas, and others show quite plainly how he did it. Discarding the incomplete Hyper-Lydian scale as a useless excrescence, and the Hypo-Dorian as redundant (being already contained in the Hyper-Phrygian), he had thirteen scales left. Leaving the primitive Dorian in its solitary majesty (see Euclid *supra*), he proceeded to merge each adjacent pair of scales into one; thus obtaining the following result:—

Degree of Scale.	Surviving Name.	Merged Scale.	Unit Steps between the 2.	Authority.
A	Hyper-Phrygian	Hyper-Aeolian	4	Cleonidas
B	Hyper-Dorian	Hyper-Ionian	4	Cleonidas
C	Lydian	Aeolian	2	Euclid and Cleonidas
D	Phrygian	Ionian	4	Euclid
E	Dorian	—	—	Euclid
F	Hypo-Lydian	Hypo-Aeolian	2	Euclid
G	Hypo-Phrygian	Hypo-Ionian	4	Euclid

This explanation of the Greek musical system of notation cannot be considered as complete without a proffered solution of two outstanding problems: the omission of the letters Δ and Ν, and the anomalies of the Ionian and Aeolian groups.

Of the first of these it is relatively easy to understand the reason for the device. The earnest student can work out the figures implied in the statements, and will find them fully borne out.

Between the middle A and the D above it an extraordinary number of letters was required. Apparently it was an inexorable rule that two notes in the same scale, however small their practical difference, must not be represented by the same letter if their computational pitch was not precisely the same.

Owing to the preservation of the old Conjunct System (*synemmenon*) together with the Octave or Disjunct System (*diezeugmenon*) they had quite a number of B flats, Bs and Cs to provide letters for. Here is a list of them.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Conjunct B flat. | 4. Disjunct C. |
| 2. Conjunct B (Enharmonic). | 5. Conjunct C (Diatonic). |
| 3. Disjunct B. | 6. Enharmonic C sharp. |

In addition to this it must be remembered that the letters representing the Disjunct B and C must preserve the alphabetical 'count' with the other notes of the scale. (The same was aimed at, and in most cases achieved, with the other notes in the above list).

In case the principle of the alphabetical counting of intervals should have been forgotten it may be as well to give the shortest possible resumé of it.

Interval.	Example.	Unit-Steps in Interval.	Alphabetical Steps.
Diatonic Semitone	E—F	4	1
Major Tone	F—G	8	4
Minor Tone	G—A	7	3
Tetrachord	E—A	19	8

Of course any interval less than a Diatonic Semitone would of necessity be represented by a single alphabetical step. Of these there were two—the Small Semitone, and the Comma.

SMALL SEMITONE. As the Diatonic Semitone was rather more than half a Minor Tone, it follows that the interval which represents their difference must be rather less. Thus we get the small semitone (F to F sharp) consisting of 3 Unit-Steps (7-4). Of these there are two—F to F sharp, and C to C sharp.

COMMA. This interval is the difference between a Major and a Minor Tone—in size slightly less than a Unit-Step. The only instance of its occurrence which concerns us is the interval between the Enharmonic B *synemmenon* and the Disjunct B. I believe this to have been merely a computational interval, and that in practice no distinction was attempted between the two notes. Colour is lent to this view by a reference to the 'Hymn to the Muse' (*Mesomedes*), in which, when the note C is repeated several times, both letters, the Conjunct and the Disjunct, are used in turn.

As it is eight alphabetical steps from A to the D above it, this left only

seven letters to supply the needs of the intervening notes, a list of which has been given above. When the crowded area occurred in a part of the alphabet including Δ or Ν, difficulties were likely to arise, especially as the Greeks could not bear to see an interval less than a Diatonic Semitone represented by two letters not absolutely consecutive. When difficulties did arise, they were solved by the calling-in of these two letters in the place of Κ and Ξ.

There are only six cases in all, so it seems worth while to go through each one in detail. Two only of them display absolute necessity: the other four are logically involved from the symmetry of the Tetrachord.

1. DORIAN. Ν for Enharmonic Β synemmenon. The disjunct Β is represented by the letter Μ, and the smallness of the interval—a Comma—absolutely cries out for completion by the nearest possible letter.

2. LYDIAN. Δ for Enharmonic C sharp (a Small Semitone from the C noted as Ε). An additional reason for this is that the letter ρ has already been used for the C synemmenon.

3. HYPER-DORIAN. Δ for Enharmonic Β synemmenon, in sympathy with the parent scale.

4. HYPER-DORIAN. Ν for Enharmonic F sharp, which is a Perfect Fourth below No. 3.

5. HYPO-LYDIAN. Δ for Enharmonic F sharp, by analogy with parent scale.

6. HYPO-LYDIAN. Ν for Enharmonic C sharp, Μ having already been used for C synemmenon.

Now we come to our last and greatest problem—the anomalous Aeolian and Ionian groups. After the first stage of bewilderment at the apparent making hay of all the intervals, one cannot fail to conclude that the followers of the Pythagorean cult must have laid hands on these two scales (Aeolian and Ionian) and remodelled them in accordance with the supposed teaching of their ancient master.

The Pythagorean Intonation has so many times been fully, faithfully, and accurately described that mathematical musicians know all about it. It is to be feared, however, that most others are repelled by the fractions used in the explanation, and have never arrived at the meaning of it: still it is essential to this question to know something about it, and the exposition here shall be made as easy as possible.

The ordinary Diatonic Scale of Just Intonation uses three kinds of intervals:—

MAJOR TONE—8 Unit-Steps—4 Letter-Steps.

MINOR TONE—7 Unit-Steps—3 Letter-Steps.

DIATONIC SEMITONE—4 Unit-Steps—1 Letter-Step.

For the Enharmonic Genus a fourth interval was required:—

SMALL SEMITONE, rather less than 3 Unit-Steps; 1 Letter-Step.

The Pythagorean Intonation demanded that all tones should be equal and Major; thus, as will at once be seen, diminishing the size of the Diatonic Semitone: and that all Semitones should be equal, consequently increasing the size of the Small Semitone (F to F sharp).

It may be worth while to set out the typical tetrachords side by side to show the difference (read from below).

A TETRACHORD (LYDIAN)

Just.	Pythagorean.
4th note—F	4th note—F
Unit-Steps to 3rd note—4	Unit-Steps to 3rd note—3
3rd note—E	3rd note—E
Unit-Steps to 2nd note—7	Unit-Steps to 2nd note—8
2nd note—D	2nd note—D
Unit-Steps to lowest note—8	Unit-Steps to lowest note—8
Lowest note—C	Lowest note—C

Now comes the question of the letter representation. The 'old' scales required 19 Letter-Steps (20 letters):—

2 Major Tones	= 8 Letter-Steps.
3 Minor Tones	= 9 Letter-Steps.
2 Diatonic Semitones	= 2 Letter-Steps.

Octave = 19 Letter-Steps.

To have increased the number of letter-steps for a Minor Tone to four in the Pythagorean systems would have expanded the whole scheme unduly; so the letter-steps for a tone were standardised at three.

Evidently the Pythagorists had then two more letters to deal with than they needed or wanted. It would seem easy enough to deal with such a case by making the scale begin or leave off two letters later; but doubtless a wholesome fear of an almost certain ostracism for curtailing the bounds of the Muse restrained them from such an attempt.

They adopted instead a most ingenious device. Replying to objectors by pointing to the Δ and Ν of the 'old' scales, they proceeded to restore these letters to their full alphabetic dignity and to cut out entirely two other pairs of letters—ΒΓ, and ΑΜ, excluding them from use, counting in intervals, or any sort of recognition. On these principles we can build up the Aeolian diatonic scale (or indeed either of the derivatives) as Alypius gives them.

AEOLIAN DIATONIC SCALE (worked out by rules)

Counting Alphabet.	Modern Note.	Letter-Steps to next.	* Character used.
A	D	3	A
Δ			
E			
Z	C	1	Z
H	B	3	H
Θ			
I			
K	A	3	K
N			
Ξ			
O	G	3	O
Π			
P			
C	F	1	C
T	E	3	T
Τ			
Φ			
X	D		X

The derivatives treated in like manner will give similar results.

Next we come to the problem of the Enharmonic Genus. This appears most formidable, as the notation cuts sharply across all the old rules. The issue is, however, a single one, and the solution, though demanding close attention, simple and, it is hoped, convincing.

Stripped of technicalities and needless complications, it amounts to the placing of the F sharp and the C sharp in their proper positions.

To start from firm ground, the old plan was to make the three notes E, F, F sharp, comprise the interval of a Minor Tone. From E to F being a Diatonic Semitone, it follows that F to F sharp was the difference, which we call a Small Semitone.

The Pythagorean Intonation required the three notes E, F, F sharp to include a Major Tone, thus raising the F sharp in pitch. But they had already depressed the F (see above), so that the interval F to F sharp was still further widened. In point of fact these two increases make the interval within measurable distance of a Unit-Step greater.

The Pythagorists stressed this fact by raising the signs for F sharp and C sharp one letter in the musical alphabet, thus separating them entirely from the F and the C. In our lists this makes them appear adjacent to the G and the D; but we must remember that the two pairs of notes were never written down by the Greeks in the same list, as they belonged to different genera.

Putting all these things together, we can now make a complete list of the Aeolian notes, which will be found to agree with Alypius :—

Counting Alphabet.	Note.	Character.
A	D	A
Γ	C sharp	
E		
Z	C	Z
H	B	H
Θ		
I	B flat synemmenon	J
K	A	K
N		
Ξ		
O	G	O
Π	F sharp.	
P		
C	F	C
T	E	T
Φ		
X	D	X

Here I think we may leave the Aeolian scale—a thing fascinating on paper, but untuneful and irritating in performance. The Pythagorists deprecated the actual public performance of music, and no wonder. I suspect the practical musician said nothing about it, but played the old tuneful scale, from which it differs surprisingly little in notation.

The scales of the Ionian group conform precisely in plan to the Aeolian, and their notation follows exactly the same rules. By a pure accident, however, owing to the alphabetical position of the omitted pairs of letters (BΓ, AM) the Ionian scales *look* far less like an ordinary Greek scale than the Aeolian ones.

Tedious detail may be spared by stating that in the three diatonic scales of the Aeolian group eighteen possible chances of difference in lettering yield a total of two variations, while in the Ionian the three scales with the same eighteen chances of deviation avail themselves of eleven of these opportunities.

The climax is reached when we come to a close consideration of the Ionian scale itself. There are three changes out of the six possible ones. This in itself does not appear remarkable; but in every case the new letter has been taken out of the same place in the adjacent scale—the Syntony-Lydian. If a party opposed to innovation existed in the city which claimed a special interest in the Ionian scale (I suggest Athens), such a party would be bound to lay hold of this fact as proving that the boasted reform was a mere muddling-up with another scale; and there would be a large number of people who had not kept up their musical studies sufficiently to be able either to confirm or to contradict. But still worse remained behind, for next it was

found that the Ionian Mese had disappeared—Mese, that touchstone and anchorage of all Greek music, whether considered as a string or a note; as a string, the actual middle one of the Lyre from the time of five strings to Timotheus' twelve; as a note, the middle note of the oldest Conjoint System, the middle note of the Octave System, the middle note of the Double Octave Scale, and the most characteristic note of every scale. And even this outrage was aggravated by the fact that the letter inserted in its place was the actual Mese of the adjacent Syntono-Lydian. Surely after this no one could possibly doubt that these innovators had foisted on us, in place of our noble old Ionian scale, a slackened (AXHMEON) mutilation of the Syntono-Lydian scale? If further questionings existed, let them listen to the playing of the so-called scale. Had ever before such sounds been produced in Greek music, and called a scale? (This would be abundantly evident.)

If Pratinas the poet were this type of man, and held these views, it is easy to understand the much-debated passage quoted by Athenaios. I am no scholar, and may not therefore presume to enter the arena of Bergk's array of commentators—Jacobs, Dindorf, Westphal, Monro; each of whom has delivered a judgment contradictory of all the others. Still some competent scholar of the years to come may make the point his own, and establish it.

J. CURTIS.¹

¹ Mr. J. Curtis having died after his MS. was in the hands of the Editors, his article is published without the author's

final corrections. Miss K. Curtis has kindly assisted the Editors in revising the proofs.

INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS FROM GALATIA

THE war was responsible for my finding a number of interesting inscriptions and monuments in the heart of Asia Minor. I copied and sketched about two hundred, but as half of them have been previously published, I propose to deal only with the remainder here.

During the latter part of my three years' captivity, 1915-1918, with the Turks at Angora, the military authorities were hard pressed for fuel, and I was in worse straits myself for means of subsistence. Unaware of their actual predicament, I applied for work to the Commander of the Fifth Army Corps, at Angora, to enable me to earn enough wherewith to buy food. This resulted in Ismail Hakki Pasha, the Quartermaster-General at Constantinople, authorizing the Commander to employ me. I was commissioned to make a geological report on the Angora Vilayet and to find coal for them. My work proved very successful; I found several outcrops of coal, copper, chrome, and indications of oil, and as a consequence received fairly liberal pay. This enabled me to save up sufficient money to escape via Samsoun to the Crimea a few months before the Armistice.

The first inscriptions seen by me were copied under restraint, but as time went on and supervision over my doings was relaxed, I was able to copy and sketch everything I came across, not only the numerous stelae at Angora, but those throughout the Vilayet, wherever I happened to be at the time.

At first I had a Yuzbashi (Captain) and one hundred zaptiehs to act as miners nominally under my charge, though in reality the Yuzbashi was responsible for my person. With the increase of confidence, due to the good results achieved, the Commander transferred full control of the men to me. Not requiring so many on the subsequent expeditions, I selected the more willing, and the average Turk is a hard worker provided he gets a modicum of food. They soon became as good archaeologists as they were miners, and helped me in hunting up stelae in the most out-of-the-way places. These we often had to dig out and, when copied, to bury again. I feel that, in giving this short recital of my adventure, I should acknowledge the friendly aid of those poor fellows, who not only lightened the monotony of my captivity, but also enabled me to reap what at the time I thought was a rich harvest of unique and hitherto unpublished inscriptions.

I had no really useful books of reference to consult whilst at Angora to guide me in weeding out what had already been published; the only books were a Greek lexicon, an old volume of travels, in French, and several Greek twelfth to fifteenth century ecclesiastical manuscripts. They all belonged to the library of the Greek church and the Archbishop was always glad to welcome me there. A few months before my leaving Angora, on the last expedition

that led to freedom, a fire, so common in Turkey, burnt out two thousand houses, including a number of mosques and churches. It lasted three days, and all the library books and manuscripts, as well as the church itself, perished.

I suffered much hardship and nearly went under on my way to the coast, and after regaining liberty had to devote the first couple of years to building up a shattered constitution. It was only last year that I began putting my notes and collection of inscriptions into some shape and order, but even then the work did not progress without hindrance.

In the pleasant task of editing, Mr. Marcus N. Tod of Oriel College, Oxford, rendered valuable service. With characteristic modesty he bade me leave his name out, but I must place this fact on record, together with an expression of my sincere gratitude for his unstinted help.

I have about one hundred inscriptions and sketches, and for the sake of convenience am dividing them into three series, viz. :—

I. Inscriptions exclusively from Angora. Nos. 1-81.

II. Inscriptions from the suburbs of Angora; Angora and other Vilayets; and a further lot from Angora itself. Nos. 91-156.

III. Sketches of Figures, Monuments, etc.

I adhere to my original order in numbering; the gaps are caused by the weeding out of inscriptions already known and published.

In addition to the usual abbreviations I have made use of the following :—
Dom.—Domaszewski's article in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, ix. pp. 113 ff.

Kirch.—A. Kirchhoff, 'Inscriptiones Asiae' in *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1861, pp. 182 ff.

Mordt.—J. Mordtmann, *Marmora Ancyranæ*, Berlin, 1874.

Perrot.—G. Perrot and E. Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, Paris, 1862.

Orb.—Manuscript of Roman d'Orbeliani.

ANGORA INSCRIPTIONS (FIRST SERIES).

Nos. 1-81.

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ	ΥΝΕΝΔΥΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟC ΜΕΓΑC ΔΕΥΞΕΘΕΩΝ	ΑΝΑΡΤΕΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΑΓΓΟΤΗ
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΝΑΚΛΕΙΣΤΗ	ΕΧΑΙΡΕΙCΙΔΗΝ ΗΝ ΕΑΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΞΙΝΕ Γ	ΤΕΤΡΑΜΟΝΗ

FIG. 1 (= Orb. 1).

Orb. 1. Part of *C.I.G.* 8794 (the left-hand portion was also published in *C.I.G.* 4054). See the comments in Perrot 137 and Mordt. p. 13.

Three fragments of slabs, about 12 inches wide, with metrical inscriptions built thirty feet above ground into the parapet of the enceinte, at the main gateway leading into the Acropolis of Ancyra.

Erected, probably over a gate, by the Emperor Michael Balbus (820-829 A.D.). Copied in their entirety by Busbequius. This copy agrees with that given by Mordt. in supporting the reading *εὐσεβού(γ)ῃ*.

Orb. 9. *I. G. Rom.* iii. 208 (after Mordt. p. 16, No. 5).

Monument erected by the twelve tribes in honour of Latinia Cleopatra, 'descended from Kings,' daughter of Latinus Alexander, who had held high offices and rendered distinguished service to the state.

The inscription is engraved within the periphery of a column in white marble, measuring 17 × 44 inches; now used as a tombstone in the old Moslem Cemetery, adjoining the enceinte at its S.E. angle.

A carefully made copy is given herewith; the shaded parts denote partial

ΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ
ΛΑΤΕΙΝΙΑΝ ΚΛΕΟΠΑ
ΤΡΑΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΛΑΤΕΙ
ΝΙΣΤΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΦΑΝ
ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ
ΛΑΙΟΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΡΟΥ
ΔΙΔΑΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΩΣ ΕΒΛΗΝΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΩΣΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΔΟΝΤΟΣ
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΩ ΘΜΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ
ΣΤΗΜΩΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΑΝΩΡΩ ΚΟΣΜΟΥΝ
ΤΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΑΙ
ΗΡΩΕΣ ΦΥΛΑΡΧΟΥ ΝΤΩΝ ΗΚΥΛΟΥ
ΕΠΙΔΑΥΔ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΔ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ
ΤΗΝ ΝΩΑΣ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ ΑΙΣΘΗΜΑΝΟΥ
ΙΕΡΗΣΙΜΟΥ ΙΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ
ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΔ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΔ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ
ΕΠΙΔΑΥΔ ΕΜΠΟΥΣ

FIG. 2 (= Orb. 9).



FIG. 3 (= Orb. 9).

mutilation. There are twenty-two lines; Mordt. gives twenty-one, reading the last Φιλωνίδου as ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΣΟΥΡΑ.

The Gaulish name Bokerex (l. 17) is interesting.

This copy enables us to read and restore the text as follows:—

Τὴν ἐκ βασιλείων | Λατεινίαν Κλεοπά|τραν θυγατέρα Λατει|νίου
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου Β || ἀρχιερέως σεβαστοφάν|του, ἀλείφαντος ἐκ τῶν ιδίων |
λαμπροτάτων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ | δι' ὅλου ἔτους, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου |
10 αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ || Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παρόντι καί
τῶν | ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευμάτων δόντος | διαβολὰς τῇ πόλει, ἀρξάντος
ὁμοῦ | καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντος ἀγῶς καὶ ἐπι|στήμης, παιδείας καὶ λόγῳ
15 κοσμοῦν|τος τὴν μητρόπολιν, αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ | ἡρώεα, φύλαρχούντων

Κ. Ἀκύλου | Ἀκύλου Δέκμου Κλειτάρχου Βακέρεργος | Ζήνων (?) Ἀργέμωνος
 20 Λιλίου Μάγνου | Χρησίμου Ἀπολλοφάνους || Οὐάλετος Γαίου Δηιοτάρου
 Σαβί(ιαν)ο(ῦ) (?) | Κ. Μαξίμου Ἡρακλέωνος Βάσσου Φιλωνίδου |
 Φινωλῶνος (?).

The names at the close of the text are probably those of the phylarchs of 'the twelve tribes' (l. 15), but I cannot distinguish the twelve individuals. In l. 18 Ζήνων, if that is the correct reading, is apparently engraved in error for Ζήνωνος.

Orb. 10.

Fragment of an epitaph, on a limestone slab with a cross in low relief.

Several similar slabs, without texts, may be seen built into bastions and curtains of the enceinte. This fragment lies loose on the east side of the enceinte. Ht., 24 in. Length, 15½ in.

ΤΑΡΑ ΝΑΝΤ
 ΕΙΝΔΕ ΜΜΑ
 ΙΟΥ ΧΘ
 ΕΜΕ ΡΑΕ

FIG. 4 (=ORB. 10).

ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟΝ ΕΝΗΡΕΙΜΕΣΥ
 ΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΧΕΤΕΣΙ
 ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟΝ ΕΝΗΡΕΙΜΕΣΥ
 ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟΝ ΕΝΗΡΕΙΜΕΣΥ
 ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟΝ ΕΝΗΡΕΙΜΕΣΥ
 ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟΝ ΕΝΗΡΕΙΜΕΣΥ

FIG. 5 (=ORB. 11).

This inscription is interesting as an early example of the week-day in dating. The name Thursday is not mentioned, only the number, Ε, i. e. 5.

There seems to be some reference in l. 2 to an indiction, followed by the phrase *μη(ν) Μαίου κθ*, i. e. 'on May 29th.'

Orb. 11.

Limestone stele with five lines of inscription, broken off across the sixth. Width, 13½ in.; existing height, 16 in.

The stele is built into the base of a bastion in the wall below the older enceinte, and on its east side.

5 - - - - | - - ία γνησίως συ[μζησ]άση έτεσι | - - [μ]νήμης χα[ρ]ιν
 χαίρε παρο[δ]έ(ε)τα.

For *γνησίως*, literally 'genuinely,' in this connexion cf. *B.C.H.* vii. p. 35, No. 16. The address to the passer-by is frequent on tombstones: cf. for example Parrot 143, *τοῖς παράγουσι χαί(ρ)ιν (sic)*.

Orb. 13.

Short text, on a limestone block (inverted), now serving as lintel, in the Clock-Tower Gateway of the wall below the
 εΝΝΗΘΙΟΥ

The stone is fractured and triced up by means of iron hoops, and, as if to add to its security, much heavier material is piled on top.

Perhaps the word here engraved is [Σ]υνηθίου.

FIG. 6 (=ORB. 13).

Orb. 16. (Perrot 123: more correctly Dom. 81, *I. G. Rom.* iii. 162; cf. Mordt. pp. 10 ff.)

Stele recording a decree of the Galatian Koinon in the reign of Trajan, during the governorship of P. Alfius Maximus and the high-priesthood of M. Papirius Montanus. A long list of the names of those who took part is engraved. At the foot is a reference to the erection of the statue of Augustus and the title and the writings by Tib. Cl. Stratonieus at his own expense.

The stele is in the form of a panel within a gracefully shaped moulding, in white marble. The upper edge is broken off across, and two holes are sunk, 3 inches deep, near the moulding at the right-hand side; otherwise the preservation is good. It measures 34 × 58 inches. As seen in the copy, merely traces



FIG. 7 (See ORB. 16).

of letters are left in the first line of the inscription and the beginnings of the next four are broken off.

The document consists of sixty-four lines. An idea may be had from the copy of its proportionate length and breadth. The ending of lines within the moulding is shown; also the relative position one line bears to the other. Furthermore, variations in the shapes and sizes of letters are given, together with their spacings. The letters are deeply cut down to l. 47, but the work was seemingly continued from here by another engraver, for they become uneven and shallow and the 'N' in l. 57 is reversed: *N*. The shaded parts denote partial or complete effacement. Several of the headlines are unfortunately missing. The letters in the first three and those in the last five lines are $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch high, whereas the body of the text is engraved in letters varying between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

The holes cut through the inscription have destroyed the latter part of four lines in each case. They were evidently cut when the stone was used for something else than its present purpose.

This interesting stele is now built lengthwise, facing the court and level with the ground, in the wall of a Turkish Almahouse. The wall is partly made up of sun-dried mud bricks, scantlings for its framework, and a lot of classical debris.

In a country where contrasts continually meet, these incongruities are hardly perceptible, but here there is rather more than the usual proportion of the debris to arrest attention. Having copied the stele I set to work and dug it out, thinking I might find something on the back; but in this I was disappointed, as it was merely finished in the rough. The Almahouse is attached to a mosque, called Arslan Hane Djanie Slierif, which stands on the opposite side of the street.

Facing the wall into which the stele is built is a small courtyard with the tomb of a saint, also a lion, symbolical of Persian dominion, from which this group of buildings derives its name, Arslan signifying lion. The lion is crudely carved in limestone and is in a bad state of preservation. It measures 5 feet in height and 4 feet 8 inches along the base (Fig. 7).

Judging by the quantity of debris all around, the site must originally have been that of a temple or some important structure in the pre-Christian period. Besides the stele the following heterogeneous lot of material may be mentioned as being built into the same wall: a large block of stone in carved limestone; sections of entablatures and bits of columns; a square tablet-shaped stele with spiral and other symmetrical designs, and an upright column partly hidden under plaster, with its capital protruding above the wall to support the roof.



FIG. 8. (=Opp. 16).

The courtyard is paved with artistically finished stonework, doubtless also from former classical buildings, more sections of entablatures and large well-finished square flags in limestone and marble.

Built into the porch facing the street are two inverted columns, one resting on a Corinthian capital and the other upon a square limestone stele with a Greek inscription, already published (*C.I.G.* 4044). The columns serve the purpose of supporting the rafters that extend from the roof of the main building.

A staircase of seven steps connects the porch with the street; the steps are made up of short sections of architraves and entablatures, butt-ends of round columns, a couple of square tablet-shaped stelae with symbolical figures carved within a panel, the head of a broken Persian lion and several fragments of capitals. The outer wall, namely the side with the porch, is 'ornamented'

with cornices and small columns carved with spiral-shaped designs, and a further set of two small Persian lions, all stuck in like gargoyles. From the manner in which they protrude one would expect to see them drop down almost any moment. Next to the entrance of the Djanis itself stands the Minaret, into two corners of whose foundations are built large rectangular blocks with vertical flutings and well-preserved carvings. Adjoining the Minaret is a Moslem tomb with the 'L. Marius Pudens' stele (cf. Orb. 17).

Θ Χ
ΘΝΑΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΕ Ο
ΝΙΔΙΑ ΣΥΜΒΙΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗ
ΗΕ ΑΧΤΗΝΟΙΣ Χ Χ Χ Χ
ΙΔΕ ΜΕΤΑΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΦΟ
ΥΝΟ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΜΟ
ΡΝΕ ΠΑΥΤΟ ΟΥΤΟΟΗ
ΗΝ ΧΥΝΤΟΤΑΦΟΙ ΕΠΟΙΚΕΝ
ΜΑΥΤΟ Χ ΤΕΥΜΒΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ
ΟΜΟΝΟΝΑΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΛ
ΗΥΤΕ ΚΑΝΤΟΝΙΑΣΤΗ ΣΥΜΒΙΟΝΑΥ
ΣΙΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΚΑΔΙΑΣΤΕΙΝΗΣ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

FIG. 9 (=ORB. 17).

Orb. 17. (*C.I.G.* 4078.)

My copy (Fig. 9) confirms the reading φιλο- against the correction καλο καγαθίας; yet the correction is necessary; and an error of the engraver must be postulated.

The stele is square, made of grey limestone, and measures 24 × 50 inches. It is now built into the superstructure of a Moslem tomb at Arslan Hans Djanis Sherif, facing the above-described Almahouse.

The letters are well cut and the epitaph is in a good state of preservation.

Orb. 20

Πατὴρ δὲ ὁμῶς υἱὸς ἐνθάδε κείμεαι
ὁ κοῦρος τετραέτης, ἢ ὄνομα δ' εἰμι | Γλύκων.

ΠΑΤΡΙΣΙΟΜΩ ΝΥΜΟΣΕΝΘΩ ΔΕΞΕΙΜΑΙΚΩ
ΡΟΣΕΡΑΣΤΙΕ ΟΥΝΩΜΔΕ ΜΙ
Ο ΓΛΥΚΩΝ Ο

'Here lie I, named after my father, a boy four years old, and Glycon is my name.'

A metrical epitaph, but the first two feet of the hexameter are wanting. The name Glycon, which is not an uncommon one, recurs in *I. G. Rom.* iii. 162 (Orb. 16 above).

FIG. 10 (=ORB. 20).

The epitaph is engraved on the face of a grey limestone stele 51 inches high. Now built sideways into the enceinte.

Orb. 22.

Fragment of a porphyry architrave, 5 feet 4 inches long, letters 4 inches high. Built into the enceinte, near the main gateway.

Orb. 23.

-- καὶ πληρώσαντι καὶ ἀφιερώσ[αντι] --

Fragment of an inscription on a section of entablature 52 inches long by 26 inches wide, letters 3½ inches high, recording the name of the man who paid for and dedicated a building. For the phrase cf. Orb. 57 (below).

There are nine similar sections, but without texts, all built into the same bastion of the enceinte, west of the main gateway.

⊕ Ι Σ Α ⊕ Θ Ε Ο Υ

FIG. 11 (= Orb. 22).

⊕ Π Α Ι Ρ Ω Σ Α Ν Κ Α Φ Ι Ε Ρ Ω

FIG. 12 (= Orb. 23).

Orb. 25.

--- α Σ τ α τ ο ρ ---

Fragment of a porphyry slab, apparently containing part of the name of a Statorius, letters about 4 inches high.

The slab is 4 feet long by 18 inches wide, built high up into a bastion of the enceinte, near the main gateway.

Orb. 26.

Ὁ φ ε λ λ (ίων) Ι Δ ε ο ς τ[ί] του τοῦ κ ρ ---

This inscription may be complete, in which case the final κρ probably stands for the title κρ(ατίστου).

A marble tablet with four panels, 60 × 38 inches, built into a bastion of the enceinte. One of the lower panels shows traces of something having been removed.

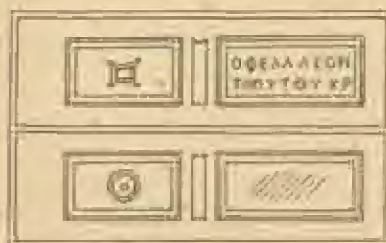


FIG. 13 (= Orb. 26).

Similar tablets, but without inscriptions, are used as stepping-stones at the Almshouse, cf. Orb. 16 (above).

Orb. 29.

5 - - Αὐφίδ[ιον] Ὑουλιανὸς | τ[ὸ]ς κρείτ[ιστος] ἐπίτροπος τῶν || Σαββ[β].
(i.e. Σαβαστῶν) | . . . τεκν[ὸ]ς τὸν αὐτοῦ πραιπόσιτον | καὶ εὐεργετην.

' . . . (honoured) Aufidius Julianus the most excellent procurator of the Augusti his superior and benefactor.'

The name of the man who erected the monument is not certain: other inscriptions in very similar terms, honouring the same official, are found in *C.I.G.* 4037, 4038, *Mordt.* p. 21, No. 9 (cf. p. 35).

The date is under Severus, Caracalla and Geta.

The inscription is engraved on a square limestone stela 51 inches high, now built into a bastion of the enceinte.

Orb. 30.

Two limestone fragments, possibly of one and the same stone originally, with a line of damaged text on each.



FIG. 14 (=ORB. 29).



FIG. 15 (=ORB. 30).

They are built high up in a curtain of the enceinte, together with other debris.

Orb. 31.

Χρ(ιστ)ε βα(σιλ)η τ(ο) (σ)ϝ | δο(υ)(λ)ο Β(αση)λ(η)ο | σπα(θα)ρ(ο)κα(ν)δι(δ)α(ν)το +

'Christ, aid thy servant Basil, Spatharocandidatus.'



FIG. 16 (=ORB. 31).

An invocation of the Byzantine period, badly spelled: the final ο must represent φ, the dative ending. For the Byzantine title *spatharocandidatus* cf. *Mordt.* p. 14.

The cross is interesting as showing the survival of the loop in the Egyptian Ankh (Crux Ansata). Several other crosses seen at Angora bear similar traces.

Built into the S.W. bastion of the enceinte.

Orb. 32.

Μιχ|αήλ (1) | μετ|ά|λ(αυ) | βασι|γλέ|ων | πο|λ(λ)ά | τὰ | ἔτι.

'Many be the years of the great King Michael!'

A Byzantine invocation: the last word is misspelled for ἔτη. Cf. another Ancyran inscription beginning πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη κτλ. in Mordt. p. 22, No. 11. The Michael here mentioned may be the same as the Emperor referred to in Orb. 1 above.

This slab, similar in design to Orb. 31, is also masoned into the S.W. bastion of the enceinte.

Orb. 35.

+ Ἐνθάδε | κατόκειται | ἡ δοῦλη τοῦ Θεοῦ | Ἀναστασία τὸ παιδὴν, ||
5 ἐτελεύτησεν | δὲ μ(ηνὸς) Ἰουνίου | κ' ἰνδ(ικτιώνους) β' +

'Here lies the servant of God, Anastasia, the child; and she died on the 20th of June in the second indiction.'



FIG. 17 (=ORB. 32).



FIG. 18 (=ORB. 35).

A Christian epitaph: παιδὴν stands for παιδίον. This is one of the commonest types of grave-inscriptions in the Christian period. Compare a group of similar epitaphs from Ancyra published by Anderson, *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 97 and 98.

The epitaph is cut in shallow letters on a tablet-shaped stele, measuring $24\frac{1}{2} \times 27$ inches. The stele is built into a bastion west of the main gateway in the enceinte.

Orb. 36.

Ἀπία.

Cut in bold letters into a limestone block, measuring 56×14 inches and built into the same bastion as Orb. 35.

Orb. 41. (*I. G. Rom.* iii. 211, 209 (Dom. 85, 98)).

Monument erected in honour of the Helladarch and high-priest Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus by a guild of Dionysiac artists, during the reign of the Emperor Trajan.

On the left side of the monument is engraved a long decree of the guild, praising the services rendered by Pompeianus and directing the erection of this

monument. The copy enables this important document to be fully read. Besides the decrees and other interesting records, it dates the governorship of Tiberius Sergianns, and refers to a proposal to erect a statue to the Emperor Hadrian at Neapolis of the Pisidians.

Dom. published the two inscriptions as separate documents. Both were engraved on the same stone and at the same time. The Turkish manuscript from which Dom. derived his No. 98 breaks off, in the decree, at the beginning of l. 22, saying that the last thirty-three lines are 'als unleserlich nicht gelesen.'

The documents are engraved on a square monument of white marble. The front tapers slightly downwards; its symmetry was evidently destroyed when the stone was shaped for building material. It measures 27 × 62 inches.

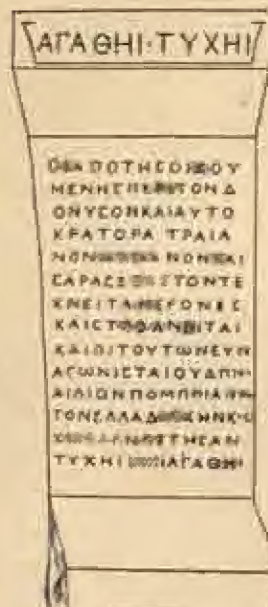


Fig. 19 (= Oxb. 41, front).

The monument lies within the temple of Augustus at Angora.

The inscription on the left-hand side, consisting of fifty-five lines, is badly mutilated. A deep square hole is cut through the heading, and a fracture in the stone, at the right-hand corner, has destroyed one or two letters at the endings of ll. 2 to 6.

Beginning with l. 22, a flat groove $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep and 5 inches wide is chiselled out on the left-hand side, destroying ten to eleven letters in each line down to l. 42. The groove widens from l. 42 to 60 inches at the bottom, gradually mutilating more, probably as many as twenty, letters in l. 55.

In addition to mutilations by the groove, the right-hand edge is badly worn all the way down from l. 22, destroying the endings of several lines. This will be seen by the shaded diagonal lines in the accompanying copy (Fig. 20).

The letters in the decree are small, in a bad state of preservation and difficult, therefore, to read. Dom. gives in l. 6 ΤΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝ instead of ΤΩΝΤΟΥΤΩΝ, and in l. 11 ΤΩΝΜΥΣΤ instead of ΤΟΝΜΥΣΤ.

All the lines from 22 to 55 are blurred. In addition to the general wear and tear of time, the surface seems to have undergone a good deal of weathering and is now very porous. This section of the monument was evidently exposed to damp or to drainage from some neighbouring building, when in use as building material. The text from l. 22 onwards was unreadable in the state in which I found it, and as it was practically doomed, I decided to get the most possible out of it before it was too late. In order to do this, I ground the porous surface down with a sandstone, which I then filled in with powdered brick and water, repeating the procedure after drying several times in succession. This enabled me eventually to decipher most of the letters, where not entirely effaced, and to take a copy of them.

This unique monument lies entirely unprotected to-day, not only from the

destructive agencies of man, but also from the action of the elements. In a country of such extreme changes of weather as the central tableland of Asia Minor, where the great summer heat is followed by rain in the autumn and snow-fall and frost in the winter, nothing can stop a porous surface of limestone from steady disintegration. Under these conditions, it can only be a question of time when the last traces of letters are bound to vanish. For these reasons I felt no scruples in adopting the radical treatment devised by me; it was, moreover, the only conceivable expedient for rescuing whatever I could of the inscription for posterity.

Incidentally it might be mentioned that the roof of the mosque next to the temple of Augustus overlaps the corner of the temple, where an important inscription is engraved, recording its dedication by King Amyntas and others. The spout collecting the rainwater from the mosque is turned inward; whenever it rains the inscription gets the full force of all the drainage, and the consequences may be imagined. I spoke to the authorities about the matter, but although they promised that the defect would be righted, nothing was ever done.

Mr. Tod has been too fully occupied with other duties to devote to this inscription the time and thought which it demands. The following transcript, therefore, makes no claim to be more than a hastily laid foundation upon which experts may base a satisfactory reading and restoration of the whole text.

A T A O H - T Y E H

[illegible]

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη

5 Ψήφισμα τῶν ἀπὸ (τ)ῆς οἰκουμένης πε-
 ρὶ τῶν Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀντοκρίτορα Τρα-
 10 ιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρ[ο]υ,
 νέον Διόνυσον, τεχνειτῶν ἱερῶ[σε]-
 κῶν στυφαιριτῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων [συ]-
 αγωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν νεμάτων τὴν ἱερὰν
 15 θυμελίαν συνδορ. Ἐπειδὴ προστι[αχ]-
 θ[ε]ις ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερωτάτης βουλ(ῆ)ς Ὀδλπιος
 20 Ἀῖλιος Πορπειανὸς ὀργανοθετήσα[ε] τῶν ἀ-
 γῶνα τῶν μυστικῶν δοθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀν-
 τοκράτορος) ἐν (ὁ)λίγαις τῇ πόλει τῇ τε χε[ι]-
 25 ροτονίᾳ ταχέως ὑπήκουσεν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶ-
 να διαφανῶς ἐπέτελεσεν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μη-
 30 δερμῶ(ε) ἀπολειφθεὶς λαμπρότητος καὶ μεγα-
 λου[ψ]υχίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εὐσέβειαν τῆς πατρίδος
 εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεψήφισεν
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις πᾶσας δι' ἀφειδῶς ἐποίησα-
 35 τὰ πρὸς μηδεμίαν διαπ(ᾶ)σιν ἀναλῶς, καὶ τῷ τε
 40 τάχει τῇ σπουδῇ ἀδευόντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀγωνι-
 στὰς ἀνεκαλέσατο κα[ι] παρτὶ μέρει τοῦ μυστηρί-
 45 ον ἐντῇ . ἐν συνόδῳ τὰ ἄλλα προθεῖς

Unearthed in 1910 together with a number of stelae, columns and other debris, while a new road was being cut through the Jewish Cemetery.

--- [[συ]γκλητικῶν | Μ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μουσικὸν | τῇ ἐκτελέσει | διὰ πάντα.

'Marcus Aurelius Musicus [erected (a statue of) so and so], member of the Senatorial order, his benefactress in all things.'

The same Musicus also paid a similar honour to a benefactor, Publius Aelius Sempronius, member of the Senatorial order; see Perrot 131, *I. G. Rom.* iii. 167.

The Latin inscription on the left-hand side is apparently of a later date:

ΙΚΑΗΤΙΚΗΝ
ΑΥΤ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΕ
ΙΗΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΝ
ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ

FIG. 21 (=ORB. 45).

ΜΕΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΩΜΑΙΝ
ΕΚΕΥΑΛΕΜΝΗΜΗC
ΧΑΡΙC

FIG. 22 (=ORB. 46).

The engraving is crude, much damaged, and many letters are practically illegible.

Aeterno Aug(usto)
Lucil(ius) Crispus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)
Praef(ectorum) praet(orio) d(evotus) n(umini) ma(jestatique)
Ejus.

ORB. 46.

A square gray limestone pillar with mouldings chiselled off and unevenly cut letters. Christian period; measurements, 48 x 22 inches.

Μ. Κλαυδιανῶ Μάγν(ω) | Κ. Ἀκύλας
μνήμης | χάριν.

'Q. Aquila to M. Claudianus Magnus in memoriam.'

'Ακύλας, Ἀκυλλας, Ἀκυλία, Ἀκυλείνα, Ἀκυλιανός occur very frequently in Galatia in the early Christian period (cf. Perrot 105, 'un nom très-fréquent chez les Juifs du premier siècle de notre ère').

ORB. 48.

Square pillar of gray limestone; well preserved and now in use as tombstone in the Jewish Cemetery. Nearly five feet high.

D. M. | 'I. Ὀρφετιανῇ μα] - - - - διευτέχῃ).

'D. M. I(ulia) Oritiane. . . . Good fortune remain with you!'

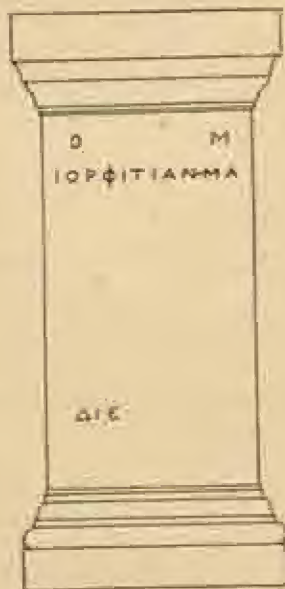


FIG. 23 (=ORB. 48).

The two letters D. M. at the head of the epitaph stand for 'Dis Manibus.' For the final word, an inscription copied by me, but previously published, gives $\delta\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\chi\iota$, and must not be written, as in *I. G. Rom.* iii. 196, $\Delta\iota\ \epsilon\delta\tau\acute{\rho}\chi\iota$. The restoration here also should be $\delta\iota\epsilon(\upsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\chi\iota)$.

Orb. 49. (Kirchhoff 25; cf. Mordt. p. 10.)

An oblong limestone stele, about 10 inches thick, 38 inches wide and 6 feet long. Christian period. Some of the letters are much weathered and worn. The stone is now in use as tombstone on a grave in the Jewish Cemetery.

The inscription is preceded by the invocation: 'Mother of Christ,'

$M(\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\varsigma$.

On this inscription H. Grégoire's remarks in *Rec. Instr. Publ. en Belgique*, 1909 (cf. *R.E.G.* xxiii. 327), should be consulted.

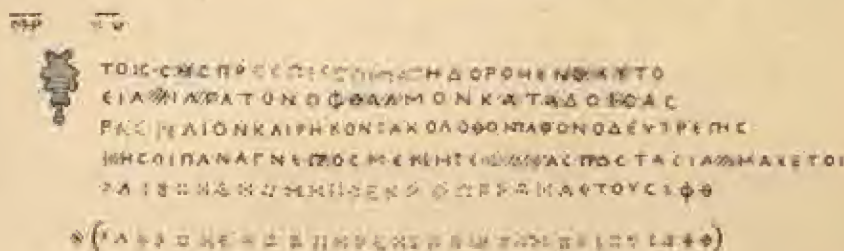


FIG. 24 (= Orb. 49).

[The line in brackets might be substituted for the last line; both are only approximately correct. One was obtained by filling the indentations with coloured liquid; the other interpretation was obtained with powder.]

Orb. 53, 54.

-- (e)as --- ai.

Two sections of architrave, damaged, in grey limestone, measuring 29 inches \times 5 feet. Letters 5½ inches. Both lie at the roadside in the Jewish Cemetery.

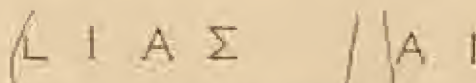


FIG. 25 (= Orb. 53, 54).

Orb. 55.

-- as Σεβα[στ]

The second word doubtless is some part of Σεβαστός (Augustus).

Section of a grey limestone architrave, 29 inches wide and 7½ feet long. Letters 6 inches; now in use as tombstone in the Armenian Orthodox Cemetery.

Orb. 56.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Section of a grey limestone architrave with letters 5½ inches, measuring 28 inches by 5 feet long; now in use as tombstone in the Armenian Orthodox Cemetery.

A Σ Σ Ε Β Α Ν Η Π Α Σ Η

FIG. 26 (=ORB. 55).

FIG. 27 (=ORB. 56).

Orb. 57. (C.L.G. 4053.)

Fragment of record of the building of a wall and its dedication to the metropolis. For this honorific title of Ancyra, see Perrot 124, 125, *B.C.H.* vii. 17, No. 3. For the formula cf. Orb. 23 (above).

A complete section of architrave in grey limestone, 29 × 7 feet 10 inches long, now built into one of the bastions of the enceinte.

ΤΟΥΛΑΜΠ·ΗΕΜΟΝΟΙΑΡΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ

ΕΥΝΗΑΙΡΩΙΑΝΟΕΧΑΦΙΕΡΩΙΑΝΟΙΤΗΜΗΦΟΔΟΤΟΤΕΙΧΥ

FIG. 28 (=ORB. 57).

Orb. 59.

Mutilated epitaph, beginning

Ἀντώνιος i.e. Ἀντώνιος.

(CL Ἀντωνίου in *Rev. Arch.* xxvi (1873), 380). In l. 7 can be distinguished ὁ ἀδελ[φός] and in ll. 8, 9, μ[νημης] χά[ρις]. 'in memoriam.'

Square pillar of grey limestone, much damaged, 19 × 55 inches. Now in use as tombstone in the Armenian Orthodox Cemetery.

ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ

FIG. 29 (=ORB. 59).

Orb. 61. (*I. G. Rom.* iii. 215; after *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. 466 ff.)

Epitaph on a square-limestone stele, set up over a gladiator by his widow: a list is given of the cities of which the deceased was a citizen, and on the left-hand side is engraved a metrical epitaph, unfortunately badly mutilated. The front is intact but for a fracture in the left-hand corner of the capital and the slightly damaged left-hand edge.

The proportionate sizes of letters and their spacings in both inscriptions

are here correctly copied. A carving in low-relief of the gladiator, in a walking posture, is seen in front. He is carrying under his arm an object resembling a scroll. The effigy is mutilated and particularly so its face and hands.

The inscription on the left-hand side of the monument is partly destroyed from l. 5 downwards by a groove, cut in the stone, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep and about 7



FIG. 30 (=ORB. 61).

inches wide. The destruction in this case is like that in Orb. 41 B, and both are now in the temple of Augustus at Angora. The monument is 5 feet 2 inches high, 23 inches at the base in front, and 21 inches at the base on the sides.

Orb. 62.

[Αγα]θῇ τύχῃ. | Ὀλυμπίῳ | Ἀντωνίνῳ.

'To good fortune. To Olympian Antoninus.'

A monument erected to a Roman Emperor, who bears the epithet Olympius, probably Antoninus Pius.

measures 25 × 61 inches and is built into the wall of a house, on a level with the street, in Balik Bazar.

Orb. 76.

Upper half of a limestone monument with plain back (finished in the rough), of good workmanship and well cut letters, measuring 34½ × 43 inches. A cavity 12 inches in diameter and 15 inches deep is cut in the lower end, and it now serves as a mortar. The monument stands inverted in Poldardje Mohalesi.



FIG. 34 (=Orb. 69).



FIG. 35 (=Orb. 76).

Monument erected to Gaius Aelius Flavianus Sulpicius, first man of the nation, twice Galatarch, etc.

- Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.
Γ. Αἰλ. Φλαουιανὸν Σουδ-
πίκιον πρῶτον τοῦ ἔθν[ου]
δις Γαλατάρχην φιλόδοξον
καὶ κτίστην καὶ πλουτιστήν
καὶ πολυστέφανον φιλόσο-
φ[ον] φιλόπατριν καὶ
ἀλευτὸν πολιτευτὴν
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην ἐν
10 [τοῖς] ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ κτίσμασι

The same distinguished man is commemorated in three inscriptions at

Ancyra. Cf. *C.I.G.* 4075 (= *I. G. Rom.* iii. 196), *C.I.G.* 4076 (= *I. G. Rom.* iii. 197, *Mordt. Marm. Anc.* p. 7; cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.* iii. 80), *Mordt. Marm. Anc.* p. 21, No. 8; see also *Orb.* 91 (below).

Orb. 78. (*C.I.G.* 4058; *I. G. Rom.* iii. 200.)

Inscription in honour of Tiberius Claudius Gentianus. *C.I.G.* and *I. G. Rom.* have Gentilianus. The copy here given of the inscription reads ξ at the beginning of l. 11 and shows that the last two letters of ἀνέστησαν form a sixteenth line.

ΤΗ ΚΑΓΕΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΔΕΛΚΕΡΔΕΣ
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΤΟΝΟΥ
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ
ΤΡΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΝΩ
ΛΟΛΟΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΑΡΕΤΗΚΕΚΟΙ
ΝΟΝΕΥΔΑΙ
ΡΩΑΓΕΝΩΝ
ΕΤΩΝ ΚΣΑ
ΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΥ
ΙΝΚΕΚΕΚΑΙ
ΑΥΤΟΝΕΥΙ
ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ
Ε

FIG. 36 (= *Orb.* 78).

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΡΩΤΑΝΔΙΟΔΩΚΟΥ
ΑΕΤΩΝ ΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΧΕΙΡΑΝΤΕΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΕ
ΡΙΣΤΕΙΜΩΣΤΕΙΜΩ
ΕΝΤΑΕΝΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ
ΥΛΗΣΕΔΗΜΟΥΑΝΩ
ΚΑΛΑΛΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣ
ΤΑΓΔΟΝΚΑΥΔΙΑ
ΑΙΑΤΕΙΜΙΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΑΝΩΑΙΣΤΕΙΣΕΑΥΤ
ΑΝΕΙΣΤΗΕΝΤΩΝΑΝΔ
ΑΝΤΑΙΣΤΑΝΔΙΩΝΕ
ΕΛΑΥΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΠΟΥΔΩ
ΕΝΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΥΑ

FIG. 37 (= *Orb.* 80).

In ll. 12-14 the true restoration would seem to be

του φιλοτι[μίας?]
ἐνκεν κα[ὶ τῆς εἰς]
αὐτὸν εἰ[νοίας].

the του at the beginning of l. 12 being the last three letters of the patronymic of [Ἀλέ]ξανδρος.

The mouldings of the stone at its capital and base have been removed by chiselling, and the right-hand side of the epitaph is mutilated, from three to seven letters being destroyed in each line.

The stone is built lengthways into the bastion, next to the main gateway leading into the Acropolis.

Orb. 80. (*C.I.G.* 4032. Cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.* iii. 80, No. 56.)

Inscription in honour of Philotas (?) son of Diodorus, erected by the eighth Anayran tribe, Claudia Aurelia.

The appended copy gives a fuller and more correct reading. It calls in question the [Phil]otas restored in *C.I.G.* (l. 2), and shows that in l. 3 *ἀστυνομήσαντα* should be read instead of [ἀγορα]λομήσαντα, that the true reading in ll. 7-8 is *ἀνδρ[ά]σι* and not *ἀνδρ[ιάντ]ι*, and that the name of the *ἐπιμελητής* is Cl(audius) Zosimus.

A square marble slab, slightly mutilated at both edges, where some of the letters are destroyed, measuring 20 × 46 inches. The slab is masoned sideways into the first bastion, at the main gateway of the enceinte.

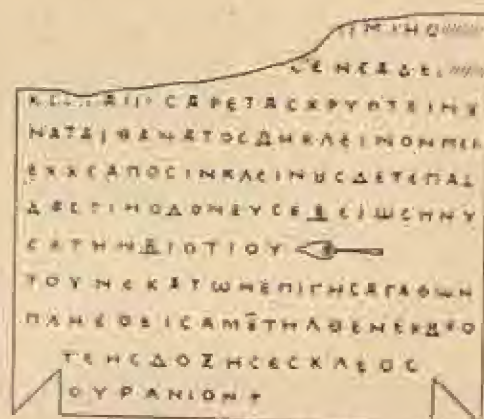


FIG. 38 (=ORB. 81).

ORB. 81.

Limestone stela broken off across the heading of the epitaph. Measuring 23 × 35 inches. Now used as lintel for a window, in the bastion at the main gateway of the enceinte.

Metrical epitaph.

- ἐνθάδε | κεῖται
 ἥς ἀρετὰς κρύπτειν οὐ | [δύ]ναται θάνατος.
 5 ἢ κλεινὸν μὲν || ἔχουσα πόσιν κλεινὸν δὲ τε παῖδας
 τὴν ὁδὸν εὐσεβέ<ι>ως ἤνυσε τὴν βιότ<ι>ον.
 Τοῦνεκα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῶν | πλησθεῖσα μετῆλθεν
 10 ἐκ βρο||τέης δόξης εἰς κλέος | οὐράνιον. +

ROMAN D'ORBELIANI.

ANCIENT MARBLES IN THE MOSCOW HISTORICAL MUSEUM

It has been pointed out by Minns,¹ Rostovtzeff,² and other scholars³ that social life in the Greek cities on the northern shore of the Black Sea was very highly developed and therefore the opportunity was given for adorning sanctuaries and public buildings with sculptured monuments. A signature of Praxiteles found in Olbia⁴ proves that even the most eminent Greek masters worked for the Far East of the ancient world. It is true, very few fragments are preserved, but among them are specimens of very high quality, worth more attention than has hitherto been paid to them. I cannot agree therefore with Minns, who thinks that 'the few marble statues are of very little value' and 'would scarcely claim attention elsewhere.'⁵ The fragments are indeed in a very bad state of preservation, but this fact must not influence the judgment upon their artistic value. It is a pity also that the remains of ancient sculpture found in South Russia are not sufficiently published. The fragments scattered in different local museums must be collected and studied anew, as there probably are works of very great importance to be discovered. Further investigations, I am sure, will offer many surprises and will compel us to change entirely our view upon ancient sculpture in the Black Sea colonies. Such a surprise was the grave-relief of the early fifth century from Olbia, published by Pharmakovski⁶; another was the colossal statue from Kertch discovered in the depot of the Hermitage, a masterpiece of high rank closely akin to the Mausollos.⁷ The rich finds of gold and silver work, together with the brilliant specimens of Greek vase-painting, absorbed the interest of the explorers; the comparatively few and fragmentary sculptures had to be content with the worst places alike in museums and in publications. All, who knew the Hermitage as arranged before 1920, remember the heaps of fragments piled up in the 'Kertch Room'⁸ to fill up the darkest corners; among them were masterpieces of Greek art, published only in very bad drawings on the frontispiece of the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*. Other specimens will probably be brought to light in local museums.

The marbles existing at present in the Hermitage and forming part of the Helleno-Scythian section of the Museum of Antiquities will be published

¹ *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 295 sq.

² *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 61 sq.

³ E.g. van Starn, *Hermes*, 1915, pp. 161 sq., 170, n. 2, 223, n. 1.

⁴ *Lathachew, I.P.E.*, I. 145.

⁵ *L.A.* p. 295.

⁶ *Bull. of the Arch. Commission*, LVIII. (1915), p. 82 sq. (in Russian).

⁷ See below: a drawing on the Frontispiece of the *Ant. du Bosph. Cim.*

⁸ At present containing the collection of ancient vases. The 'Helleno-Scythian section' comprising all the discoveries made in Russia will be exhibited separately.

in my forthcoming *Description of Ancient Sculptures in the Retrograd collections*; with two of them I shall have to deal in the present article as being akin in style to a head to be published here.

The collection in the Moscow Historical Museum is composed, as far as can be stated from the short notes in the Inventory of the Museum, of marbles found in South Russia. It was studied first by Watzinger in connexion with his work upon grave-reliefs from South Russia.⁹ By kind permission of Mr. A. Oreshnikoff, Keeper of the Museum, I photographed the most important pieces in 1905 in order to publish them in the *Bulletin of the Archeological Commission*, where my first article appeared in 1907.¹⁰ Since then one of the photographs has been published by Poulsen in his '*Iconographische Miscellen*.'¹¹ Too little attention has been paid to the extraordinary head of Aesclepius re-

produced in my article in the *Bulletin*; I must therefore return to the subject and add some remarks concerning the other sculptures existing in the Museum in so far as they deserve interest either from the artistic or from the historical point of view.

1. The oldest piece (Fig. 1) is the head of a youth found in Olbia; it is but a fragment, very much damaged, so that no photograph can reproduce details; greatest height .139 m., in the position as given in the photograph—.135 m. The marble is very coarse-grained, similar to Naxian, but, according to Prof. Sauer's statement, not true Naxian. Apparently the head has lain in the earth near the sea, as the whole surface has been damaged by water.



FIG. 1.—ARCHAIC HEAD, MOSCOW.

It is not an 'abbozzo' as would appear at first sight, since the outlines of ears, nose and mouth are clearly distinguishable. It belonged to a statue of the 'Apollo' type, being broken off near the shoulders; a part of the left shoulder is preserved and visible on the photograph.

The hair has the form of the Egyptian 'Klaft'; horizontal and vertical lines, hardly distinguishable, divide its mass into squares; the ears are left uncovered and have broad and flat forms. Marble and workmanship prove it not to be local work but an importation from the islands or the coast of Asia Minor. Great masses of Ionian vases—Milesian, Samian, Clazomenian and others—are found in Olbia; it is then natural to look for the origin of our fragment also in one of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor or the islands.

⁹ G. von Kienitzky and Carl Watzinger, *Griech. Grabreliefs aus Südrußland*, Berlin 1906.

¹⁰ *Monuments of Ancient Sculpture in*

the Moscow Hist. Mus., Bull. of the Arch. Com., XXIII p. 78 sq. (in Russian).

¹¹ *Det Danske Videnskabsk. Selskab. hist.-filol. Meddelelse*, IV. 1. p. 20 sq., Pl. 6.

Most characteristic is the form of the hair and the broad fleshy construction of the face. The high cheekbones and the prominent chin in connexion with the flat broad form of the forehead and the cheeks give the impression of a square, the head as a whole resembling a cube. The nearest analogies are to be found in archaic Milesian sculpture; the head from Hieronda in the British Museum¹² has not only the same characteristics of face and hair but also the same short neck; a similar style appears also in the head of the man from the *via sacra* at Branchidae.¹³ The connexion with Asiatic art is as clear in the fragment from Olbia. We can therefore ascribe it to the same school of archaic Ionian—probably Milesian—art.¹⁴

2. A bearded head (Figs. 2, 3) which merits publication was found



FIG. 2.—BEARDED HEAD, MOSCOW.



FIG. 3.—BEARDED HEAD, MOSCOW.

also in Olbia; total height .23 in. The marble is small-grained with a yellowish surface and seems Pentelic. It is a head of a bearded god with a broad fillet in the hair. The greater part of the beard is broken off and the surface much damaged. Judging from the treatment of hair and eyes, it is original Greek work of the middle of the fifth century. A deeply incised parting drawn from the forehead down to the neck divides the hair into two symmetrical groups of lines. On the neck beneath the ring the curls fall straight down, a curiously stylised strip of locks supplying the transition from the upper part to the lower. Over the forehead the hair forms thick

¹² Bayet-Thomas, *Milet*, Pl. 27; A. H. Smith, *Cat. of Sculpt.*, I, No. 19.

¹³ Newton, *Disceveries*, Atlas, Pl. 75; Bayet-Thomas, Pl. 26, 2; Brunn-Brockmann, *Denkm.*, 141; A. H. Smith, *Cat.*, I, No. 1. See Furtwängler, *Recht. phil.*

Wochenchr., 1888, p. 1516, *Monatsschrift*, p. 716, for a Milesian statuette in Odessa.

¹⁴ Maybe the fragment from Olbia, *Comptes Rendus*, 1906, 37, Fig. 24; Mims, p. 296, belonged to a similar head.

masses falling as far as the ears, half of which are left free; over the ears the braids cover parts of the fillet. The head is closely connected in style with a series of small heads found in Attica, belonging to the middle of the fifth century; they were all, as far as we can judge now, terminal heads.¹⁵ On the Moscow head behind the left ear are preserved the remains of a braid of hair, which seems to have reached down to the breast, as is usual on terminal heads.

I know of no other replica of this work and it seems probable that the head is not derived from any more famous work but is one of the numerous marbles more or less closely connected with the ideal types created in Attica under the influence of the art of Phidias.¹⁶

3. A very important piece I shall only mention here: the fragment of a statuette of Kybele, which seems to reproduce the Kybele of Agorakritos and is probably the truest copy hitherto known of this famous statue in the Metroon.¹⁷ Height 18 m.

4. The best specimen of ancient sculpture in the Museum from the point of view of workmanship is a head of a bearded god, probably Asclepios, one of the noblest works of fourth-century Greek art.¹⁸ (Pl. I.)

The head is very much damaged, but not restored at all; total height .29 m.; of coarse-grained, probably Parian marble. The back of the head was made separately and is lost; beard and hair are very damaged, the nose broken off; but the eyes and their surroundings are comparatively well-preserved and give the impression of a work of distinctive art. The head greatly resembles some types of Asclepios, so that the name of this god may be applied to it, though of course it is impossible to prove the identification.

The hair is long and frames the face in large waves, some locks falling down in the middle of the forehead; the round beard is also curled. Most characteristic are the eyes; they express the pathos of the head to a remarkable extent, but it must be remarked (*a priori*), that the other features greatly intensify this expression. The eyes are round and very deeply set under prominent eyebrows which produce dark shadows in the inner corners. The brows are highly arched from the nose. The upper eyelids are drawn parallel to the brows, the lower curved downwards. The muscles on the outer sides of the brows are very thick and cover the upper lids near the corners, so that these latter are not visible. By these means the artist attained the effect of extreme concentration of expression. The pathetic effect is supported by the composition of the other features, as will be clear by comparison with other types of Asclepios. At the first view we must acknowledge that we have to deal with no Roman copy, but with an original Greek work of the fourth century. There is no trace of the stiff treatment inseparable from a Roman

¹⁵ E.g. Arndt, *Ny Carlsberg*, Text, p. 17 sq.

¹⁶ See *Mat. of the Arch. Comm.*, VII 21; Minns, 297 sq., Fig. 210, belonging to the fifth century.

¹⁷ Will be published separately by O. Boroffka.

¹⁸ See above, n. 10: Nangebauer, *Studien über Skopos*, p. 101; Minns, p. 296. Similar type of Poseidon, *B.C.H.*, 1906, p. 357 sq., Figs. 21, 21a.

copyist. It is significant that the lower lids are not sharply marked. The comparison of an original female head from the Acropolis with its copy in the Berlin Museum¹⁹ proves that the Roman copyists did not reproduce the softness of Greek work. I do not think they were incapable of doing it, as is usually assumed: it was not quite in the character of the Roman style to aspire to such softness, and Greek art in Italy had to accommodate itself to the taste of Roman collectors. Neither are there on the Moscow head traces of later Greek work, which in Roman Imperial times shows signs of degeneration.

The style of the Moscow head is sufficiently characteristic to determine the approximate date and the artistic school to which it goes back. The date is to be defined by the strongly kindred workmanship on monuments of the middle of the fourth century B.C. On the Olympia Hermes and the Eubuleas we find the same 'impressionist' treatment of hair and the soft modelling of face; we cannot take a more recent date, *e.g.* in the Hellenistic age, because there is not yet any trace either of tragic pathos or of sentimentalism in the expression of the features. So it is amid the surroundings of the great masters of the fourth century before Lysippos that we must imagine the creation of this type. Every feature recalls so much the circle of Scopas, that we cannot refuse to accept the authorship either of Scopas himself or a kindred master.²⁰

To conclude that we have to deal with an unknown work of Scopas may seem hazardous, but I cannot explain in any other way the almost absolute identity of style of the Moscow head and the Tegea fragments.²¹ For example, on the helmeted head of a youth we find the same treatment of the eye; the curve of the under-lids and the arch of the eyebrows over the inner corners of the eyes, the curved lines of the brows covering the upper lid on the outer corners, are precisely similar; only the expression is a little stronger on the Moscow head. The round form of the cheeks from the sides to the front and the transition from the lower lids to the cheeks show the same manner of treatment; the curls of the beard recall the hair of the unhelmeted youth from the Tegea temple. Of course, there is some difference in details; *e.g.*, the forehead of the latter is modelled with greater energy, the lines of the cheeks near the nose are stronger, but we must not forget that the subject is an entirely different one.

To show the original manner of Scopas in this case it is interesting to



FIG. 4.—HEAD OF HERACLES.
PETROGRAD.

¹⁹ Bruun-Druckmann, *Denkm.*, 1744, A.

²⁰ Minns, *loc. cit.* p. 296, 'looks later in his picture.'

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²¹ See the plates in Neugebauer's *Studien*, giving also some heads from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

compare the Moscow type with the head of Asclepios from Melos, which has some resemblance to it.²² There is the same arrangement of the hair over



FIG. 5.—COLOSSAL STATUE
FROM KERCH.



FIG. 6.—BEARDED HEAD IN MOSCOW.

the forehead: in the middle a parting, whence the locks are waved towards the ears; there is the same round form of the beard with the thick moustaches; but every feature on the Moscow head is treated individually; the hair over the forehead rises higher and the locks instead of falling towards the sides cover the forehead; the upper part of the head consequently assumes a higher shape; it is in harmony with this feature that the eyebrows rise upwards on the Moscow head, while on the Melos head they are quite horizontal. In this way the concentration of expression caused by the forms of eyebrows and upper lids, noticed above, is supported by the fall of the locks on the forehead, marking strongly the middle vertical axis of the head. It is in accord with this characteristic system that the bones on the forehead are more prominent in the middle than on the sides. The oval form of the lower part of the face is narrower than on the head from Melos.

In short, therefore, on the Moscow head all the features are arranged in such a way that the utmost pathos could be concentrated in the large deep-set eyes. The famous Asclepios from the Piræus²³ shows the characteristics of the head in Moscow in a more developed, exaggerated form. The comparison proves that the former cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic period. Although the hair over the forehead is arranged in the same manner as on

²² Brunn-Bruckmann, 230.

²³ *Arch. Mit.* 1892, Pl. IV; *Stadl. Marbles et bronzes*, No. 258, p. 39.

the Moscow head, the lower part of the face is broader and rather square, so that the outline loses the character of a compact mass. Most characteristic, however, are the eyes. The lines of the brows rise higher than on the Olbia head; and the curve of the upper lids instead of being parallel to the brows reaches its greatest height in the centre; i. e., the lines indicating greatest height of eye and brow do not coincide with each other, but are parallel. This method of 'doubling' the expression is well known from the heads in the style of Damophon of Messene, but is unknown in the Olbia head and the style of Scopas.²²

To sum up therefore: (1) the workmanship is that of the middle of the fourth century B.C. and of the same quality as the Tegea marbles and the Mausoleum slabs; (2) the style is absolutely the same as is found in authentic works of Scopas; (3) the head as a representation of Asclepios cannot be considered to be influenced by any of the other heads of the same character; it is not only independent but represents the most concentrated and pathetic expression attainable in the style of the fourth century; (4) the same type in a more exaggerated aspect, apparently under the influence of the Moscow head, occurs in Hellenistic art.

For all these reasons I think we must draw the conclusion that we have before us a work of Scopas or a master akin to him; just so the inscription with the name of Praxiteles found in Olbia proves that first class sculptors worked for these cities.

I must mention here two other sculptures closely connected in style. They belong to the Hermitage Collection. The one is the head of Heracles (Fig. 4); a fragment of a statue, also very damaged, showing the hero in brisk motion.²³ The whole neck being preserved, we see the head turned sharply to the left shoulder as if Heracles were attacking an enemy. The forms are absolutely identical with those of the Asclepios head; the execution though summary is very expressive. The other is a colossal statue of a man (Fig. 5);²⁴ head and right arm are lost, the upper part is broken and badly joined to the lower; part of the breast is missing; we can only judge of the style from the mantle, covering the left arm and the lower part of the figure. The treatment of the folds is closely akin to that of the 'Maussollos,' showing also the technical particularities of this statue. We must therefore take it as a work of one of the masters employed on the Mausoleum.

These three sculptures prove that the period of prosperity for the Bosphorus under the reigns of Lenkon (389/8-349/8) and Pairisades I (349/8-310/9)²⁵ was favourable for the introduction of classic sculpture. The close connection with Athens, the old cultural tradition in Panticapaion had prepared the soil for artists of eminence. The head of Heracles was found in Kertch; so also the colossal statue. The head of Asclepios proves the same

²² E. g. the head of Artemis, Karyatid, *Peuples de l'Asie mineure*, Pls. I, II. The head in Sparta. Arnult-Amelang, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 1319, 1320, might be a copy of the Moscow head.

²³ Height 37 m. Bought at Kertch in

1901. The head was inset into the statue; coarse-grained marble; a variety of the type Arnult-Amelang, *l.c.* 1321.

²⁴ See n. 7; found in Kertch. Height c. 2 m.

²⁵ Restovtzeff, *l.c.* 69.



FIG. 7.—HELMETED HEAD.



FIG. 8.—FEMALE HEAD.



FIG. 9.—HEAD BROKEN FROM A REINER.

high level of artistic culture for Olbia. Further discoveries, to be expected not only in the rich soil of South Russia but also in the various museums, will produce further material for a detailed history of ancient sculpture in the Black Sea colonies.

Of some other marbles of the Museum I give only a summary account.

5. A bearded head, height .17 m. (Fig. 8), has been already published as a replica of the Epimenides by Poulsen;²² it is interesting because of the rows of holes obviously made for the attachment of a metal wreath. The first row over the forehead consists of two holes, the second—from

²² See n. 11. My conjecture that the head belongs to the Epimenides type was published by Ohman (*Porträts i den griekiska Plastiken*, p. 40 sq.). In my "Studies on ancient portraiture" (in *Rus-*

asian, 1921, vol. I of the Year-book of the Russian Institute of History of Art, 1921), 34, n. 3, I expressed doubts concerning this interpretation.

ear to ear, of ten small and two large holes, these latter near the ears, each with two adjacent small ones; the third of four holes. Poulsen suggests that these holes were made to fasten the upper part of the head, which was made separately and since lost. This is impossible, as the head never was higher than it appears in its present state. Indeed the total height being .17 m., we have to suppose a missing piece about .001 m. thick in order to reconstruct the form of hair as given on the so-called heads of Epimenides: it would be



FIG. 10.—Sorrow.

rather difficult to work out such a piece and there was no need to fasten it with three parallel rows of relatively big holes. The head, therefore, is not a replica of the Epimenides type, as Poulsen and I at first supposed; the arrangement of the beard does not agree with the Epimenides.

6. Small head of a helmeted youth, height .109 m., found in Olbia, of Pentelic marble; beneath the helmet and over the ears on either side are two holes, apparently for the cheekpieces of the helmet. From the photograph the style appears stronger than in reality; the head greatly resembles the Meleager type (Fig. 7).²⁸

7. Head of Parian marble, the hair parted, adorned with stephane, and

²⁸ For the method of fastening the cheekpieces, etc., see the head, Coll. de Vaguel, *Mus. Hist.*, XIII. Pls. XVI, XVII.

rolled up on the neck; the ears are pierced for metal earrings. Original work of the early fourth century B.C.; found in Olbia; height .063 m. (Fig. 8).

8. Female head from a relief (?) with a veil on the back, style of the middle of the fourth century B.C.; height .103 m.; found in Olbia; Pentelic marble. The back of the head is formed by two projecting planes, forming an angle, with rough surfaces. It is not likely that the head belongs to the series of Alexandrian heads, of which parts were made of gypsum and plaster.²⁰ It seems rather that it was set into a relief of another material, e. g. of local limestone (Fig. 9).

9. Relief with Siren standing *en face*; ²¹ fragment of a grave-relief, made of local limestone, and, of course, local work; total height about 70 cm. (Fig. 10).

OSCAR WALDHAUER.

²⁰ Amelung, *Asamien*, III, p. 118 sq.; Helbig, *Führer*, LV, No. 288; Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.* 1906, p. 38; Haunow, *Berl. Phil. Wochenachr.* 1905, p. 169.

²¹ See Collignon, *Statues jumées*, p. 221 sq., Fig. 142 sq. for the gesture.

NOTE ON J.H.S. XLIII, 1923, p. 150.

In his paper 'The "Sophocles" Statue: a Reply,' Theod. Reinach discusses the small Sophocles bust in the Sala delle Muse of the Vatican, with the fragmentary inscription of the name. In consequence of a communication from his pupil, M. Durry, he declares incorrect the statements in the third edition of Helbig's *Führer*. As I am responsible for these statements, I wish to say here very briefly that Durry's and Reinach's assertions do not correspond to fact. The upper part of the ϕ is preserved; but even if it were not, it would be impossible to fill up the given space with fewer or more than precisely three letters. Therefore the conjectures put forward by Reinach of $\Delta\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\epsilon\delta\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$, or even of the otherwise possible $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$, are at once ruled out.

This and other questions raised by Reinach I shall go into fully in a paper which is to appear in the coming number of the *Atti* of the *Accademia Pontificia Romana di Archeologia*.

W. AMELUNG.

Rome, March 21, 1924.

I

497. *Παιροκρατίον τετραρχία*: τετάρων μερῶν ὄντων τῆς Θετταλίας ἕκαστον μέρος τετράς ἐκαλεῖτο, καθά φησιν Ἑλληνικός ἐν τοῖς Θετταλικοῖς. ὄνομα δὲ φησιν εἶναι ταῖς τετράσι Θετταλιῶν Φθιώτῃν Πελασγῶν Ἑστιαῶν.

498. (a) Schol. Val. ad Eurip. Rhoe. v. 311: πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη: πέλτη ἄσπις ἐστίν· ἴτυν οὐκ ἔχουσα καθάπερ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Θεσσαλῶν πολιτείᾳ γραφῶν οὕτως· διελὼν δὲ τὴν πύλιν^α Ἀλόας^β ἔταξε καὶ^γ τὸν κλῆρον παρέχειν ἑκάστους ἱππέας μὲν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπλίτας^δ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα.^ε ἦν δὲ ἡ πέλτη ἄσπις ἴτυν οὐκ ἔχουσα ἱερίχαλκος αἰγὸς δέρματι περιτεταμένη.^ς καὶ τριάκοντα^ζ ἢ^η μακρὸν^θ δόρυ πάντες ἐφόρουσαν ὃ σχέδιον ἐκαλεῖτο.

Cf. Eustath. in *Iliad*, M 295, p. 905, 59 (and again p. 911, 63), αἰγὸς ὃ αἰὼς ἐ.τ.λ.

L. A. Furlanetto, *Herceles Pelagica*, in *Entomofauna*, Torino, 1913, pp. 74-76, and 83, note 3, separates the two. In Fig. 498 he retains *vires* and refers it to the territory of *Larisa* only: and he ascribes the Tetrads to the Island of the opening, the cliffs of Larisa in one of the closing, sixth century; the former indeed seems to be Eurylochos, who it appears conquers Philotis and so converts the Triads into Tetrads. I do not find this convincing.

2. επί κράτει Κονο, επί κρατίδι επί κρατίδι

А. А. Боровой.

卷一百一十五

[illegible]¹⁰ *Incarnatus Propter*.

— 100 —

alternam.

* *red* Sedgewick Peffer, Augusta Pfluck.

* Schul-Schwarz.

18. 1941. 1941. 1941.

the state of the text. So there can be little doubt about the corrections *Ἀλεῖας* and *κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον*; and *τὴν πόλιν* is very likely corrupt as well. But the main difficulty lies in the apparent irrelevance of the first sentence of the quotation. The scholiast is commenting on the word *πелтаστών*, and says, 'The *peltè* is a kind of shield, as Aristotle tells us, saying that *Aleuas* assessed the number of horsemen and hoplites to be mobilised, and that the *peltè* is a kind of shield.'—What are the horsemen and hoplites doing?

II

Our other source for the traditional army strength of Thessaly is Xenophon: who, *Hellenica*, vi. 1, reports Jason of Pherae as saying that if he is made *Tagos*, he will be able to dispose of a certain traditional tribute and a certain traditional army strength.

ὅταν ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν οἱ ἱππεύοντες γίγνονται, ὀπλίται δὲ πλείους ἢ μύριοι καθίσταται.

Thessaly contributes the horsemen and hoplites: the peoples round about, *τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη*, contribute peltasts and tribute.

πλατυτάτης γε μὴν γῆς οὐσῆς Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη ὑπῆλκα μὲν ἔστιν, ὅταν ταγὸς ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκοντισταὶ εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ πελταστικῇ εἰκὸς ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.

And again—

πάντα γὰρ δέπου τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη φόρον φέρει ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν.

Jason became *Tagos*; and got his tribute, and an even larger force of horsemen, hoplites and peltasts than the traditional mobilisation allowed him; we shall see, he followed a new system. But he took the traditional tribute.

προέπε δὲ τοῖς περιόικοις πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον φέρειν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκότα τεταγμένος ἦν φέρειν.

III

From Xenophon, one would assume that there was a traditional Army List for Thessaly proper, which gave 6000 horsemen and 'over 10,000 hoplites'; and a traditional tribute for the peoples round about, which also gave a fixed amount.¹¹ They come into operation when there is a *Tagos*: the tribute, to which

¹¹ Perhaps not a fixed amount, only a fixed system, *ἡγεῖα* (not *ῥεῖα*) *τεταγμένη* *ἢ φόρος*.—The *Scopas* who organised the tribute is probably 'the Ancient,' grandfather of *Simonides*' patron (v. note 22); he probably lived just after the

Sacred War of c. 590, at the last apogee of Thessalian power before Jason. It would be curious for Jason to ask the same amount as his predecessor two centuries before; natural enough for him to revive the system.

Jason adheres, is attributed to *Scopas*: the Army List, which he does not adhere to, is attributed by Aristotle to *Aleuas*: and we find elsewhere that *Aleuas* and *Scopas* appear as the two first *Tayoi* in Thessaly.¹³ The earlier, *Aleuas*, lays down the army for Thessaly proper: the later, *Scopas*, lays down the tribute for the *Perioikis*.¹³

The established consequences of the *Tugcia*, which Jason quotes as traditional, are—

1. Horsemen and hoplites from Thessaly.
2. Tribute from the *Perioikis*.

He further infers (using the word *εἰκός* in both cases, vi. 1. 9, and vi. 1. 11) as natural, though not traditional—

3. The *Penestai* of Thessaly will man his fleet.
4. The *Akontistai* of the *Perioikis* will form his peltast force.

Xenophon is too good a historian to impute two such modern arms to the half-legendary *Aleuas* and *Scopas*.

IV

Yet the *Rhesos* scholiast, quoting Aristotle to explain the word *Peltastes*, brings in his account of *Aleuas*' organisation. However mangled the scholiast's note may be, that much is plain: *Aleuas* is, somehow, relevant to *Peltastai*. Xenophon did not think so; but the half-century which intervenes between Xenophon and Aristotle had seen the rise of *Isocrates* and his pupils: in *Isocrates*' *Archidamos* we find beginning that unreal treatment of early history which culminates in such things as Ephorus' account of the primitive sixfold division of *Laconia* and fivefold of *Messenia*.¹⁴ And from this unreality Aristotle, at least in his *Politeia*, was not free; witness *Dracon*'s 'Constitution.' We must swallow the fact that Aristotle is connecting *Aleuas* with the organisation of the *Peltast* force.

We can hardly, however, follow Cobet, who alters *ὀπλίτας* to *πελταστὰς*, and supposes that the Aristotelian *Aleuas* got his peltasts from the same part of the country as his horsemen; both from the *Tetrarchies*. If we let Aristotle mirror back fourth-century conditions to the days of *Aleuas*, we need not compel him to distort them: the horsemen and hoplites will come from Thessaly proper, the four *Tetrarchies*; the peltasts from the *Perioikis*. I therefore follow most editors since Cobet and indicate a *lacuna*: in view of the present condition of the scholiast's text, we need have few scruples about this. After the mention of the horsemen and hoplites must have come the mention of the peltasts;

¹³ Ed. Meyer, *Theopompus Hellenica*, mit einer Einleitung über . . . die Verfassung Thessaliens, 1900, pp. 238 sqq.—*Aleuas* the Red as first *Tayoi*, *Hist. de frat. arm.* 21: cf. *Aelian*, *H. An.* 8. 11.

¹⁴ τὰ εἰρημὰ ἰδού = the *Perioikis* = the *ἐπισημοὶ* or *ἐπὶσημοί* = *Perioikis Magnesia Achala*: Gerhard Kip, *Thessalische Studien*, Diss. Halle, 1910, p. 11.

¹⁵ Ephorus, *Frug.* 18 and 20.

and then follows the description of the *Peltē*. Our two fragments then run as follows:

'Aleus the Red divided Thessaly into four Tetrarchies (and 150 *Kleroi*).¹⁵ And having thus divided the land (*τὴν πόλιν*), he assessed the Army strength at 40 horsemen and 80 hoplites per *Kleros*. [For the Perioikis he assessed a force of peltasts] and their *Peltē* is a sort of shield, etc.'

But why on earth does he call the land of Thessaly proper *τὴν πόλιν*?

V

Rose suggests *τὰς πόλεις*; Schwartz *τὴν πολιτείαν*. Meyer¹⁶ rightly rejects both, 'one would expect rather *τὸ ἔθνος* or *τὴν χώραν*.'—What one would really expect is some word describing Thessaly proper, as opposed to the Perioikis; and the natural way of doing this is *τὴν πολιτικὴν*, which therefore I propose to read.

Frag. 497. ἐπὶ Ἀλεῦα τοῦ πυρροῦ διήρητο εἰς ἑ μοῖρας ἡ Θεσσαλία (and into 150 *Kleroi*).¹⁷

Frag. 498. διελών δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν Ἀλεῖαν ἔταξε κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον παρέχειν ἐκάστους ἱππίας μὲν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπλίτας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. [ἐκ δὲ τῆς περιουκίδος he assessed a force of peltasts] ἦν δὲ ἡ πέλτη ὁσπὶς κ.τ.λ.

For this use of *ἡ πολιτικὴ* (sc. *γῆ* or *χώρα*) I would quote Polyb. 6. 45. 3 (the Spartan constitution): πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας, where Polybius is quoting fourth-century writers (φασί), and probably Ephorus.¹⁸ The omission of *χώρας* is not serious: ¹⁹ Xenophon varies similarly

¹⁵ *Infra*, note 21.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 222, note 1. Yet neither Meyer, nor I believe any other scholar, has noticed a curious parallel in this use of *πόλις* for the plain of Thessaly, as opposed to the fully Perioikis. See Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 246 (Poseidon Petraios opened up the Passage of Tempe, and) περὶ τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἐντρέχει τοὺς ποταμούς, πρὸς τῇ δὲ πόλει τῆς πόλεως μέγιστος καὶ πολλὸς τὰς χώρας διαφύσσων. Wilamowitz here emends πόλεως to πόλιν. The two passages should perhaps be treated together. Certainly πόλιν would not be an easy correction in the Rhodian scholium, nor perhaps πόλιν in this Pindar scholium. But the land which the blocking of Tempe would flood is identical with the land which produced horsemen and hoplites (cf. Plat. *Lysis*, 623 D.); and I

think it just possible that the reading is correct in both cases, and πόλις is a technical term to describe this land. If so, its meaning is exactly what I have supposed for πολιτικὴ, the land of the Polis, opposed to the Perioikis. (How big, and how irrespective of urban agglomerations a Polis can be, cf. Lycian B. 6, and other passages cited by L. and S., and esp. Ar. *Pol.* 3. 3. Hesychius πόλις τις χώρα, is, I imagine, a gloss on Stesichorus and refers to Pisa, Strab. 8. 3. 31.)

¹⁷ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen*, I, p. 219. Polybius names four sources for the views of this chapter—Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, Plato.

¹⁸ *ἡ περιουκίς* is, of course, well attested: e.g. Thuc. 2. 26. 3 (Eleus), 3. 16. 2 (Spartan). The scholiast on the former interprets wrongly. Πελτῆας τὸν is used absolutely.

in his use of τὸ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα (*Hellen*, 5. 4, 41 and 55) and τὸ πολιτικὸν (*ibid.*, 5. 3, 25; cf. 4. 4, 19). The *Politikè* here spoken of is, of course, Thessaly proper, the Tetrarchies, as opposed to the *Periokis* Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Achaia. Between these two areas, as in Laconia and Elis,¹⁹ a definite frontier is to be drawn. This has long been conjectured; and finally put beyond reasonable doubt by Gerhard Kip in his *Thessalische Studien*, pp. 51-57: who has there drawn with fair certainty, the fifth-fourth-century frontier between the Tetrarchy Phthiotis and Phthiotic Achaia. His canon for delimiting the frontier of the Tetrarchy Phthiotis as against the other Tetrarchies (viz. Strabo's Φθιωτικὸν τέλος, which will nowhere exceed Phthiotis and Achaia combined, *op. cit.* p. 57), seems to me less certain.²⁰

VI

Aristotle is thus giving us a slightly more developed and schematic account of the traditional Army List referred to by Xenophon. Putting the number of Kleroi at 150,²¹ we get a strength of 6000 horsemen and 12,000 hoplites:

later: Hierocles, *Synekdemos*, 671, 3-4 (Teubner, 1893), gives in the Eparchia of Phrygia Salutaris the two 'cities' of Κλήρες Ὀρίων (sic: scil. Ὀρεῖον!) and Κλήρες Πάριον: these disappear, as Κλήρες, as one bishopric in the Notitiae (Barnes, *J.H.S.* viii, 492; Pauly-Wissowa Κλήρες Ὀρεῖον). Cf. the Attic Ὀρεῖον, Strab. 9. 1. 3.

¹⁹ On these see E. Niese's admirable work: for Laconia *Nachr. v. der k. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1906, pp. 191 *seq.*; for Elis, *Gesellschaft, Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Griech. Akademie*, p. 3 *seq.*, *Elis und seine Perioikien*.

²⁰ The suspensions in our passage of Aristotle (ἀρχαῖα αὐτῶν πόλεων τῶν τετραριῶν . . . ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πόλεων) are only intelligible if the *Politikè* is a self-contained area coterminous with the four Tetrarchies, i.e. Thessaly proper. Kip's arguments may be very laudably resumed: Phthiotis is part of Thessaly, Achaia (which does not by any means always have the epitheton διατριχὸν & φθιωτὶς) is not: the Thessalians and Achaeians have separate votes in the Amphiktyony: Herodotus speaks of passing out of Achaia into Thessaly, and vice versa (vii. 190, 198): the early geographers, Scymnus, Scylax, and most explicitly the 'Pseudo-Dicaearchus,' recognise the distinction. Later it disappears: under the Macedonians the difference of status vanishes, a Strategus of the Thessalian League comes from Achaia (*I.G.* ix. 2. 103). Strabo,

Pausanias, Diodorus include Achaia in the Tetrarchy: just as Ptolemy finally includes Perrhaebia and Magnesia in the remaining Tetrarchies. Kip's map, based on the early geographers, indicates the frontier clearly. Kip's view is reaffirmed (against Ferrabino) by V. Costanzi, *Riv. di Fil.* xlii. 1914, pp. 529-544. *Principi ed Achei Prioti*.

²¹ Meyer's computation of the number of Kleroi (*Theopompos Hellenika*, etc., pp. 225-226, followed by Guayguant, *Population*, 1923, p. 57) is quite arbitrary, every figure from which he starts being really an unknown: e.g. the size of the domain of a hoplite or horseman in Thessaly, the proportion of the total area of the Tetrarchies occupied by the Kleroi. The computation, such as it is, gives 160-200 as the number. I suspect both the individual Kleroi, and the total area concerned, were a great deal larger than he supposes: especially the former: a man would take more elbow-room in Thessaly than in Attica. (The *Chilids* of modern Thessaly might perhaps throw some light on this, but I have not the facts.) Meyer allows a distinction between *Politis* and *Periokis* in 'Phthiotis,' but does not suggest any actual frontier where the Tetrarchy would end and Achaia begin: he rather suggests the two types of tenure were intermingled over the whole of 'Phthiotis.' I cannot agree with this; *supra*, note 20.

Xenophon's figures are 6000 and 'more than 10,000.' I have assumed that Xenophon and Aristotle alike attribute the organisation of the army to Thessaly to Aleuas, and that of the tribute in the Perioikis to Scopas. Xenophon mentions neither in Jason's mouth: he mentions Scopas later, when Jason has adhered to his system (vi. 1. 19): he does not mention Aleuas, to whose system Jason did not adhere. But it is, of course, possible that Aleuas the Red and Scopas the Ancient should not be combined: that they represent two *real* traditions of the origin of the Tageia and of the institutions consequent on it; and that while Xenophon attributes both Army List and Tribute to Scopas, Aristotle attributes both to Aleuas. I hardly think this probable: Aleuas the Red is likely enough mythical, but Scopas the Ancient is more solid: he is grandfather of Simonides' patron, Scopas the Drinker,²¹ and cannot very well have been entirely eliminated from any version of the Tageia's origin.

VII

We have to note, finally, that Jason changes the basis of mobilisation. Aleuas' Army List, which gives the estimate which Jason quotes, vi. 1. 8, was based on the Kleros: Jason based his own (vi. 1. 19) on the Polis:

διέταξεν ἱππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν.

This recognition of the fact that Thessaly was no longer an Ethnos, but a collection of Poleis, enables him to exceed the traditional estimate. The growing town civilisation in Thessaly, which Socrates comments on in the opening of the *Meno*, rectifies slightly the abnormal disproportion between horse and foot. The normal Greek proportion was 1 to 10 (e.g. Plat. *Aristides*, 21. 2): in Thessaly, in the Ethnos stage, it was 1 to 2. It is hard to estimate the precise strength of the army which Jason raises from the Tetrarchies: the proportion seems to be approximately 1 to 3.²² Thessaly remained an Ethnos longer than any part of civilised Greece. The ethnic description *Θεσσαλός* for an Olympic victor is maintained well into the fifth century, while Achaeans, Arcadians and Boeotians bear, from the first, the name of their city or canton.²³ But

²¹ Phainias *op. Ath.* 438 c.: part of the same genealogy. *Sch. Ambros. ad Theocrit.* xvi. 36: Ἐπειόφας 34 & Σόφρας. Theocritus' Ἐπειόφας are Scopas the Drinker and his brothers.

²² Jason actually gets [Xen. *H.* vi. 1. 19] 'more than 8000 horsemen, including the *εὐαρχοί*, and not less than 20,000 hoplites.' The 'allies' are the 'nations round about' (i.e. the Perioikis. Jason gets from the Perioikis, in addition to the Scopas tribute, (a) a huge force of peltasts, (b) a number of horsemen. We cannot

say how many horsemen: if we put it at 2000, the resultant for the Polis is 6000 horsemen, 20,000 hoplites.

²³ The usage varies; sometimes *Θεσσαλός* sometimes *ἑπειόφας*, etc.: v. Meyer, *op. cit.* 235, note 2: there is similar variation in Attic inscriptions: e.g. *Ditt. Syll.* 132, 133. Cf. *ibid.* 92 and *L.O.* II, 13, Achaeans: the speaker in (Herodes) v. 2612, 125 (v. note 23) rightly compares Thessalians with Achaeans as living *ἐν* ἁλύσει.

the growth of the city came, sure though late.²⁵ It makes havoc of the constitution of Thessaly in the fifth century; the nobles in the individual cities become so powerful, as against the federal Tagos and Koinon, that Thucydides says,²⁶ the normal state of Thessaly is an unconstitutional oligarchy (*δυναστεία*). The cities developed too late to have a great political history: they are soon swallowed by Macedon, and then by Rome.

VIII

Jason, in that speech to Polydamas from which I have already quoted (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 5 *seqq.*), in which he computes his 'traditional' army, says he already controls all the cities of Thessaly except Pharsalos: among them Larisa was chief. An early fourth-century coin of Larisa shows obv. a heroic head with the inscription ΑΛΕΥΑ(ς), and a small double-axe, rev. the legend ΕΛΛΑ(ς) (Fig. 1). 'Hellas' and the double axe herald the revival of the Tageia and the ancient greatness of Thessaly: I imagine the coin is issued by Jason²⁷ when he holds Larisa and does not yet hold Pharsalos. He associates with his ambitions Aleuas, the first Tagos, the maker of Thessaly's army. This need not surprise us; however little love may have been lost between Jason and the Alenadae, the whole story of Polydamas shows that Jason knew the value, and had the art, of co-operating with men who had fought him in the past, and, given occasion (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 14), would fight him in the future. It is Aleuas the Red whom Jason, aspiring to be Tagos, sets up as his prototype, it is the army of Aleuas which he sketches to Polydamas; but, once Tagos, he uses more

²⁵ The city Tageia exists before the end of the fifth century (*J.G.* ix. 2, 257), but the eponymous magistrate is the non-urban *laupoi* (ibid.; cf. *Ar. Pol.* 1321 a); the speaker in (Herodotus) 7. 232, § 28, feels the smallness of their urban agglomerations one of the chief causes of Thessalian weakness. [This speech is printed in Meyer's *Theop. Hellen.*, pp. 297 *seqq.*; and is regarded by him and others (e.g. Costanzi in *Ann. Univ. Tur.* 33, 1916, 56 *seqq.*; Beloch, *G.G.* iii. 2, § 7) as a contemporary document of the reign of Archelaus. Meusel. Adcock and Knox have attacked this view in *Klio* 13 (1913), 249 *seqq.*; Mr. Knox's marks of lateness are not very damaging (his suspicion of orientalism in § 30 is surely based on mis-translation!); he perhaps makes it likely (p. 257) that it was not widely read until Herodes Atticus' day (unearthed by Herodes!); Mr. Adcock's arguments do not touch Meyer's date, 390 B.C., except that Ella was not then allied with Sparta: a slip of detail affecting one word; and it perhaps carries: *Αλλοι... *Αλλοι...

— 1 *Hellas*. § 19, that Archelaus 'never refused passage to a Spartan army' is perfectly true: it is not implied he had granted passage (his step-brother Pentecles had), rather, that he was in a better position than Thessaly, which had refused, *Thuc.* 5, 12, 1.]

²⁶ 4. 78. 3. But Dion. Hal. preserves another reading. Growth of Poleis and bourgeoisie; cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* 235-6; Costanzi, in *Ann. Univ. Tur.* 26 (1904), 98; Ferrabino, *op. cit.* 93-104. Gergias' joke in *Ar. Pol.* 3. 1. 9 (the magistrates at Larisa are 'Larissipoloi' they manufacture Larissians like kettles) is quoted by Aristotle to illustrate a state of affairs when citizenship, as an institution, goes back less than three generations. The manufactured article is the Larissian bourgeoisie; before, there had been the Thessalian noble. *Circ.* 409, the Thessalians are still notably not rocknecks; *Enr. Elab.* 813 *seqq.*; Sophist. Anon. *Diogenes Laëz.* 2. 11 [=Diels, *Forssk.* 2 or 3, Kap. 83].

²⁷ Vide Appendix.

modern methods. The Poleis had destroyed the Tageia of Aleuas, but out of them Jason builds his stronger Tageia.²⁵

Was there any real tradition behind this 'army of Aleuas'? The archaeological fancy of Greek statesmen was so lively in the early fourth century, that I dare not affirm it. Certainly no such army had been mustered since the Persian wars—not, that is, since the growth of the *bourgeoisie*. Jason looks back past the humiliation of the fifth century to the great adventures of the sixth, when Thessaly had been a first-class power. That 150 great estates could be still traced in Jason's time, and that each could be made answerable for 40 horsemen and 80 hoplites, seems to me not impossible.

IX

I will resume my conclusions.

1. The two Aristotle fragments give us the organisation of the *Politikè* by Aleuas, and the Army List which Aleuas based on this organisation. This is the ground of Jason's estimate, but not the system Jason himself adopted.

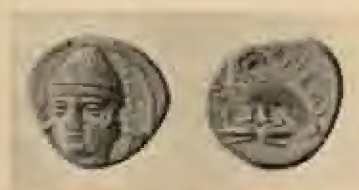


FIG. 1.—COIN OF LARYSSA.



FIG. 2.—COIN OF ALEXANDER OF PHIERAE.

2. The further raising of a peltast force from the *Perioikis*, which Aristotle attributes to Aleuas, Jason more properly describes as not traditional, but, under modern circumstances, likely.

3. Jason's new Army List, based on Poleis, not on *Kleroi*, is symptomatic of the late but normal development of Thessaly from an *Ethnos* to an aggregate of cities. Out of these cities, which had been centres of disunion, Jason proposes to make his united Thessaly.

4. The emendation $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota<\tau\iota\kappa\eta>\nu$ [or retention of $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ in the same sense] in Aristotle Frag. 498, gives further confirmation of Kip's view that the Tetrarchies (Thessalia) were geographically divided from the *Perioikis* (Perthraebia Magnesia Achaia), and that a frontier must be drawn between the Tetrarchy Phthiotis and Phthiotic Achaia. The *Politikè* [or *Polis*] = the Tetrarchies.

²⁵ Contrast the (perhaps unfair) account of Philip's method of unification, Dem. Phil. III. 26: $\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha$ θερραλία νῦν ἔχει, οὐχὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀλλὰς παρρηγοί

καὶ τῶν τετραρχιῶν κατέστησε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μόνος ἀντὶ πόλεως ἑκάστης καὶ κατ' ἑαυτὴν διοίκησεν:—Philip, who has not Jason's ambitions for Thessaly, returns to the methods of Aleuas.

APPENDIX: THE 'ALEUAS' COIN²⁰

Head, *H.N.*² (1911), p. 297, says this coin 'may belong to the time of the occupation of Larisa by Alexander of Pherae.' This was A. v. Sallet's view (*Z. f. Num.* 5, 1878, 99 *sqq.*) based on the belief that a coin of Alexander of Pherae also bore the legend ΕΑΑΑΞ. Of this latter coin at least six examples are reported [two in London (Br. Mus. Cat. *Thessaly*, Pl. X. 13, = Fig. 2, and one not catalogued), one in Athens (v. Sallet, *l.c.*), Berlin (*id. ib.* and Pl. II. 2), in the Collection de Laynes (*Rev. Num.* 1900, p. 11, note 4), and in a private collection (Hirsch, *Catalog einer Samml. griech. Münzen*, No. XIII., Munich, 1905, No. 1446, Pl. XIX.; cf. K. Regling, *Journ. Intern.* 1905, p. 175)]. I have not seen the last, but it appears to put beyond doubt that the legend below the head, obv. (variously read hitherto as ΕΝ ΝΟ[Ι] ΟΞ, B.M. Cat. p. 47, and ΕΑ [Λ] ΑΞ; v. Sallet, *l.c.*), is ΕΝ ΝΟΔΙ ΑΞ, sc. Artemis En(a)odia. So the influence of Alexander of Pherae on the Aleuas coin of Larisa disappears. The recurrence (likewise noted by v. Sallet, *l.c.*) of the double axe on coins of Alexander of Pherae (B. M. Cat. Pl. X. 11) is no proof of such influence; ²¹ it had already appeared on older coins of Larisa, e.g. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. XLIII. 2 and 5, c. 500-480.

H. v. Gaertringen in *Aus der Anomia*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 15 *sq.* (whom Meyer apparently follows, *Theop. Hell.* p. 239), likewise supposes that Alexander influenced the Larisa issue; it is Alexander's enemies, the Aleuadai, who issue the coin, and the appeal to their mythical ancestor is their answer to Alexander's pretensions.²²

Both these views, with their grave difficulties, lose their foundation, since it is now clear that the Aleuas coin was not influenced by Alexander of Pherae either way. But though now dissociated from Alexander, the peculiarities of the coin remain: the double axe, the legends ΑΑΕΥΑ, ΕΑΑΑ. The double axe had last appeared in Thessaly on Larisan coins of c. 500-480 (Head, *H.N.*² 298; Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. XLIII. 2 and 5) before the humiliation of the Persian War, during the last Aleuad *Tageia*.²³ The obverse of the coin, joining the double axe with the head and name of Aleuas, clearly recalls those days. The man who aimed at restoring Thessaly to the position she had held before the crash of 480—who had taken Aleuas as his provisional model as the military

²⁰ Br. Mus. Cat. *Thessaly*, Pl. V. 12 (=Fig. 1). Other examples: (1) Hirsch, *Catalog einer Samml. griech. Münzen*, No. 511, Munich, 1905, No. 1315, Pl. XVII.; (2) Berlin (*Z. f. Num.* 5, Pl. II. 3); (3) Paris (*Rev. Num.*, 1890, p. 257, No. 94).

²¹ Though A. Dieudonné (*Rev. Num.* 1906, p. 12) and presumably Head, *H.N.*² 297, read it as such.

²² H. v. Gaertringen connects the coin with the 'Army of Aleuas': rightly, I think; but he holds this 'Army of Aleuas' to be a reflex of the army Jason actually

raised, and does not observe that it is already in Jason's lips before he becomes Tages, and that it materially differs from the one he raises.

²³ Thorax and his brothers: Hdt. 7. 6 i. & 24. *Ἀλεουάδαι δὲ οὗτοι θρασυτατοὶ ἦσαν*: already in 496 Pindar, *Pyth.* 10. 3, speaks of these Aleuadai as kings. Their father, Aleuas = *Λαῖνος*, is called *ἀσπὶς* by Theocritus, 16. 34 (imitation of Sminthides' patron, cf. Sol. *ad. loc.*). It was this Thorax who invited Nereus to Greece, Hdt. 1. 1.

organiser of Thessaly—was Jason. I suggest that he issues this coin, claiming continuity with the great Tagos of old, and preparing the way for his own Tageia: we have seen (*supra* § VIII.) that, at the time he aspires to be Tagos, he holds Larisa. The coin implies the same programme as Jason's speech to Polydamas: and 'Hellas'²⁵ on the reverse stands for Thessaly's resumption of her place as leader of the Amphictyony²⁶ and mistress of τὰ ἐνὶ ἑσθῇ, in a war not against Crisa, but against Persia (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 12).²⁷ No one but Jason could put forward any such pretensions without absurdity.

Of the Alenada themselves, between Aristippus (c. 400, Plat. *Meno*, 70A, n.; Xen. *Anab.* 1. 1. 10, 1. 2. 1) and Simos (c. 360, Dem. *Cor.* 48, Harpocr. s.v. etc.) none is known for certain,²⁸ but there must have been members of the family in Larisa; and Jason was statesman enough to get on as good terms with them as he did with Polydamas.²⁹ His successors lacked this touch,³⁰ but it is intelligible that Alexander of Pherae, maintaining Jason's pretensions, puts the double axe on his coins.³¹

H. T. WADE-GERY.

²⁵ A. Diemunsch, *Rev. Num.* 1896, 9-12, thinks ΕΛΛΑΣ is a man's name, e.g. Hellenocrates (cf. *Ar. Pol.*, 1311 n.). His conclusions are hardly acceptable as they stand (note 29, *supra*). F. Stählin, *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. *Larisa*, p. 853, supposes Hellenocrates to be a *simulacrum* to Alexander of Pherae, a counter-claimant of the Tageia (with Macedonian support? the eagle and thunderbolt, *rev.*, may point to Macedonia), and this is certainly possible; but v. *supra*, note 31.

²⁶ As especially under Eurylochus in the Crisean War. Eurylochus (probably an Alenad, Meyer, *op. cit.*, 242) marks the apogee of Thessalian power; after him come the misadventures against Boeotia and Phocia, Plat. *Comp.* 19, Hdt. 8. 27-28, etc.—'Hellas' and Thessaly: Homer *passim*, [Democritus] *Frug.* 61, *F.H.G.* II, pp. 263-4.—'Hellas' and the Amphictyony: Marin. *Par.* epoch 5 and 6, Hdt. 7. 214. 2, αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτεῖαι, *Arach.* in *Chia.* 117 ἐλόντι Ἑλλάνων = 119 ἐλόντι Ἀμφικτυόνων. The Amphictyony in the Crisean War are Ἑλλάνων, hence Eurylochus is Ἀμφικτυών.

Ἀμφικτυόν, Euphrocion ap. Hypoth. B. in *Phil. Pyth.* Hdt. 7. 132, the test for Ἑλλάνων ἐλόντι is membership of the Amphictyony; and, mid fourth century, Philip was of the same opinion.

²⁷ Cf. *Isocr.* 5. 119, ἐλόντι γὰρ (Jason)... ἀμφικτυόν ἔδρα τρυχεῖ αὐτῇ ἢ ἡ ἐραζομένη ἀλλ' ἢ ἡ ἐραζομένη τρυχεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς αἱ τῆς ἑσθῆς ἐλθροδύναμις καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχαὶ.

²⁸ Medius? *Diod.* 14. 82. 6, *Ar. H. An.* 9. 21; Eurylochus (*D. Laert.* 2. 25, *Sch. Ar. Plat.* 179) is probably earlier.

²⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 8, 6. 1. 18. *Ibid.* 6. 1. 14, suggests he had done precisely this.

³⁰ Polydamas is murdered, Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 34: the Alenada call in Alexander II. of Macedonia against Alexander of Pherae, *Diod.* 16. 14. 2.

³¹ *Heal, H.N.* 308, quoting Theopomp. *Frug.* 319 (Hunt), explains this by Alexander's supposed reverence for Dionysus *ἐλόντι*; but Hunt (rightly, I think) follows Maass (*Hermes*, 23, 70, Roscher, iii. 1814) in reading *ἐλόντι*, not *ἐλόντι* for the MS. *ἐλόντι*. Cf. *Pauly-Wissowa*, xii. 1. 303, *Lobry als Münzschreiber*.

THE STUCCOES OF THE UNDERGROUND BASILICA NEAR THE PORTA MAGGIORE.

Few ancient monuments that have come to light of recent years have aroused so lively an interest amongst scholars or so widespread a curiosity in the general public as the subterranean building of basilican plan discovered in 1917 as if by chance near the Porta Maggiore in Rome. Its situation at a depth of 50 feet below the present level of the soil, the curious mode of its construction, the secrecy of its approach, the mystical character of its decoration led to the theory, put forward almost from the first, that this was probably the secret meeting-place of some religious pagan fraternity. Especially significant in this connexion are the symbolic and eschatological subjects of the stuccoes: the figures of Eros holding torches or playing with a butterfly, the scenes of rape and of liberation, the Victories carrying wreaths belong to the now well-known cycle of subjects that symbolise the aspiration of the soul towards the divine, her liberation from earthly ties and her final flight towards the celestial spheres. In the same way, the long series of reliefs representing sacred enclosures which completely surround the lower part of the walls; the scenes of preparation and of ritual discipline; those of initiation to the mysteries; the indications of a purgatorial Katharsis; the grand apocalyptic scene of the apse; the figures interpreted as Orantes or personified prayers; even the candelabra and other sacred furniture, recall rites by means of which the ancient devotees of the basilica might be initiated while still in this life to the bliss of the next. The subjects considered individually offer nothing either strange or unique, but what strikes our imagination and must certainly have struck that of any one who entered the basilica in antiquity, is to find so large a number of these subjects (their number is, I believe, about 117) so linked together as to cover the whole building with a perfectly logical and homogeneous decoration. We are here in presence, as it were, of a figured chart of the adventures of the soul in her search for the divinity. . . .

The object of the present paper is to bring out this unity of thought by means of a connected description of the imagery of the basilica. This imagery should soon be easily accessible in the great publication which the distinguished Italian scholar G. Bendinelli¹ is preparing and which is to appear in the *Monumenti dei Lincei*, with plans, elevations and the whole decorative material of the basilica. Meanwhile, readers of the Journal may be glad to have a clue to

¹ Bendinelli has recently given (*Bullettino Comense*, 1922-1923, pp. 1-44) a valuable analysis—preparatory no doubt to his larger

work—of the decorative elements reproduced in the stuccoes, comparing them to contemporary tomb-stuccoes and paintings.

guide them through the intricacies of the most remarkable *corpus* of religious figurative art as yet found on Greek or Roman soil.²

The detailed description of nave and aisles has been attempted with the collaboration of Miss Norah Jolliffe, late Gilchrist student of Girton College at the British School at Rome, who has interpreted a large number of the stuccoes and discovered interesting parallels. On the other hand, the discussion of the stuccoes in the apse is developed out of a paper which I read before the Hellenic Society in October 1920 and again with some additions before a meeting of the Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia in Rome in the spring of 1922. For the revision of this also I have had the help of Miss Jolliffe. Another student of the School, Mr. Stephen Welsh (Rome Scholar in Architecture), has kindly prepared diagrams which make clear the decoration of the ceilings,^{2a} and compensate in some measure for our somewhat inadequate illustrations. The Italian publication being, it seems, so nearly ready, we preferred not to trespass upon the generosity of the Italian authorities in the matter of photographs, but reproduce only what has already appeared elsewhere. For the convenience of readers and to make clear the relation of the stuccoes to the building, we give a short summary of what is known of the actual structure from the researches of Gatti, the late F. Fornari, Lugli, Bendinelli and other Italian scholars who have been actively engaged in studying the basilica from the time of its discovery.³

I. THE BUILDING—PRELIMINARY NOTE

The circumstances of the discovery are now well known. It was the unexpected sequel to a threatened displacement of the soil of the embankment, which the railway engineers were at first at a loss to account for. While probing the ground in every direction in order to discover the cause of the mischief, they came upon a narrow circular shaft or light-well through which they penetrated into a corridor, and thence through a hole into a large hall 12×9 metres which was filled with earth to two-thirds of its height, and covered with well-preserved stuccoes (Pl. II.). Systematic clearance disclosed an apsidal chamber of basilican plan, divided into nave and aisles by two rows of massive pillars and approached, exactly like a Christian basilica, by a square atrium or *pronaos* (Fig. 1). In fact, were it not for the purely Pagan character of its

² Upwards of thirty articles have appeared on the basilica. To those enumerated by Bendinelli, p. 4, n. 1, should be added v. Duhamel, *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 102-107; Hubaux, *Museo Belg.*, xxvii, 1923, pp. 1-81 ('Le Plongeon Rituel'); Strong, *Latter to Times*, Aug. 25th, 1923; Strong, in *Wonders of the Past*, pt. xxiv, pp. 1197-1204; J. Carcopino, *Rev. Arch.*, xviii, 1923, pp. 1-23; Lietzmann's two important articles, *Arch. Anz.*, 1924, p. 347-351 and in *Verträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1924.—For questions of religious interpre-

tation see especially F. Cumont in *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, pp. 52-75, and *Rassegna d'Arte*, viii, 1921, p. 37, and Leopold in *Milano d'Arch. et d'histoire*, xxix, 1921-22.

^{2a} Needless to say that before the official publication has appeared, no measure drawings could be made.

³ See especially Gatti, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1918, p. 36 ff. A really valuable account of the basilica was given soon after its discovery by G. Bagatti in *J.R.S.*, ix, 1919, pp. 78-85.

stuccoes, the building might have been taken for a Christian church of primitive type erected underground in days of persecution. The resemblance to a church is still further emphasised, if we accept the marks of attachment

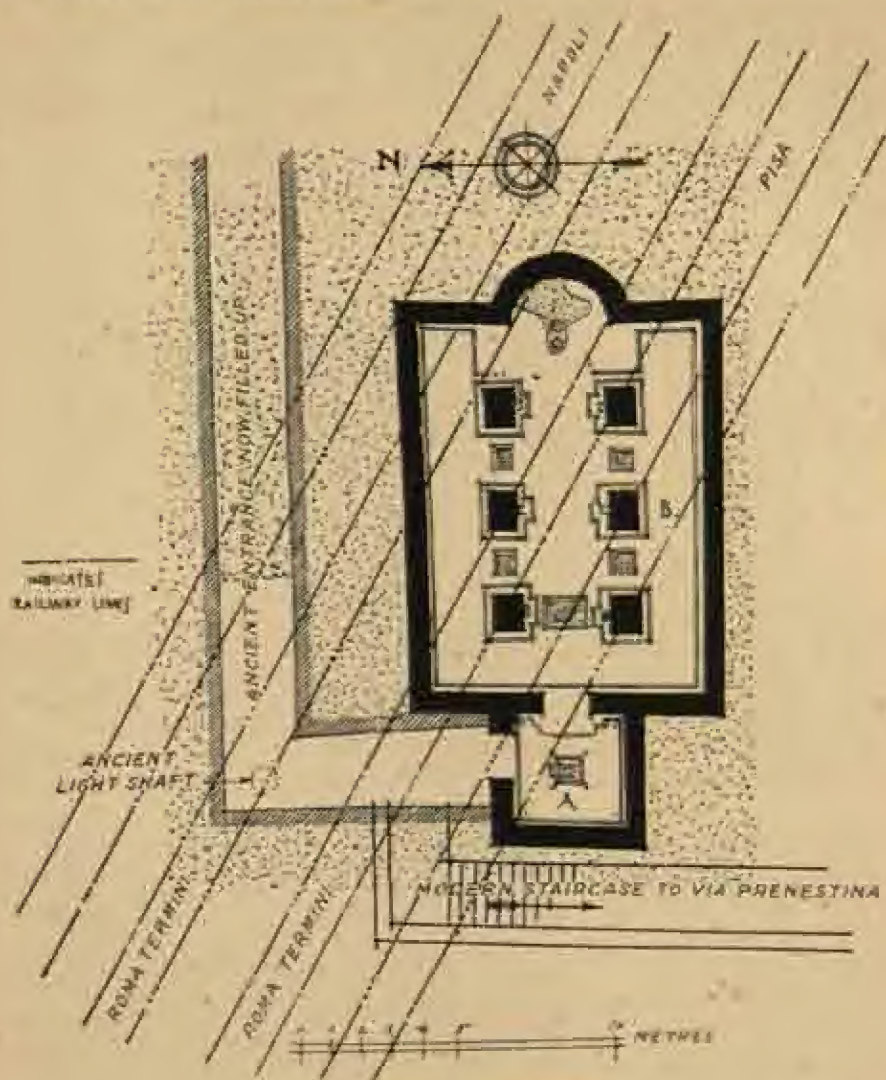


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE BASILICA.

against the wall of the apse as evidence that a seat for an officiant priest once stood here, somewhat like a Bishop's throne within a chancel.⁴

That a building possessing the essential features of an early Christian basilica should have existed in pre-Christian Rome came as a surprise. Recent

⁴ The existence of the throne is disputed by Bendinelli, *Roll. Con.*, 1923, p. 32, who believes that a column for a statue

stood here. For the apse, cf. T. Riviera, *Architettura Romana*, 1921, p. 42.

investigations, it is true, had prepared archaeologists to look for the prototype of primitive Christian churches in those apsidal halls with naves and aisles which had sheltered the mystery religions of ancient Greece⁴—more especially those connected with chthonian or underworld worship; but no one, up to the time of the Porta Maggiore discovery, had ever dreamt that the basilican plan, perfect in all its main aspects, had been evolved by paganism before passing into the service of Christianity.

It is evident that the new hypogeum, which represents so advanced a phase in the development of the religious basilica, must itself have served a purpose similar to that of the halls from which it derives. In the apse are two sacrificial pits, and it is reasonably assumed that the skeletons of a pig and a dog, found interred close by, were originally sacrificed over these pits on the day of consecration. Beside the impluvium of the atrium, likewise, the bones of a second pig were found. Pig and dog being animals sacred to the gods of the underworld, we shall not be far wrong in assuming that the basilica was devoted to a ritual of the dead, but that like so many sanctuaries of the kind it offered individual salvation to its devotees by means of initiation. Though it was emphatically not a tomb (the sacrificial remains preclude the notion), it may well have been sunk deep under the earth to suggest resemblance to a tomb, that those who penetrated through the long gallery into the atrium might have the sensation of entering the grave and of passing from it into the abode of the Eternal Light even as Virgil leads his characters through the gates of the underworld into the Elysian fields beyond.⁵

Dr. Lugli's view that the basilica was the hall of a funerary college whose tombs were in the neighbourhood,⁶ seems the soundest and most reasonable as yet put forward; it would then follow from the size and beauty of the basilica, the lofty symbolism of its decoration, and the originality of its plan that the college was composed of members of a sect who aimed at the higher and purer forms of mysticism, and some of whom must have been persons of wealth and taste. In effect, the basilica, according to M. Cumont, was the meeting-place of a transcendental Neo-Pythagorean sect, while P. Fornari believed that it was within the property of the rich and powerful family of the Statili and could be connected with the ill-fated T. Statilius Taurus, the consul of A.D. 44 (Tac., *Annals*, xii. 59). He had been accused of magical superstitions (*magicae superstitiones*) in A.D. 52 at the base instigation of the younger Agrippina who coveted his famous gardens, and Carcopino has recently pointed out that the accusation of practising magic was the one most frequently brought against the Pythagorean sects.

The basilica, it must be borne in mind, was not buried naturally in the

⁴ Fornari, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1918, p. 10 ff.; G. Giovannoni, *Descrizioni dell' Atrium Pont. Romano di Arch.*, xv. 1921, pp. 113, f.; Laroche, *L'Edifice hypostyle*, p. 286 f.

⁵ The old theory that Virgil in the Sixth Aeneid was transcribing into poetry

actual rites of initiation, perhaps that of Augustus (see Conington, II, p. 420), may yet be justified in our basilica.

⁶ Lugli, *Riv. di Architettura*, 1921, p. 209. See Carcopino in *Riv. Arch.*, xviii. 1923, p. 9.

course of centuries, but is a real hypogeum sunk deep into the soil from the first. This is generally explained from a desire for secrecy on the part of the sect that met here, though M. Cumont, believing the sect to have been one of Neo-Pythagoreans, suggests that their intention was to imitate the Platonic cave (Plato, *Rep.* vii. 514A) that had so great a significance in their tenets.⁷ The manner in which it was apparently built is best told in the words of Signor Gatti: 'It must have been constructed by excavations in the virgin soil above, corresponding in size and shape with the intended walls and pillars. These trenches and pits were then filled with the concrete (*selce*) of which the whole building, as we have it, is in fact composed. The barrel vaulting and arches seem to have been similarly built over a centring provided by the virgin soil. The theory would account for the irregularity of the lines of the walls and the lack of any symmetrical relation of the pillars to the main axis of the building.' The quality of the concrete, a pure *selce* without any admixture of fragments of tiles or other rubbish, enables us to date the building before or about the middle of the first century A.D. This date is confirmed by the style of the floor mosaics, of the stucco decorations and of the wall paintings of the atrium.

Owing to a threatened collapse of the soil, the long corridor which led down to the basilica by a gentle gradient could not be completely explored, and its upper entrance has not been found. The gallery was probably lit at intervals by light wells similar to the one through which the engineers had originally crept, and numerous fragments of mosaic and stucco—too minute, however, for reconstruction—show that the floors and walls were of a style similar to those of atrium and basilica. The atrium has a fair-sized skylight, the funnel-shaped shaft of which was faced with good reticulate brickwork (*opus reticulatum*) of mid-first-century date. Immediately below the skylight is a square *impluvium* to catch the rain-water which was carried off through a pipe on the left. The floor is covered with a fine mosaic pavement of first-century character composed of a simple pattern of black lines on a white ground.

Within the basilica proper, between the pillars nearest the entrance, are the foundations of the ancient altar. They resemble in outline the skin of an animal with the four paws extended, and it is possible that the altar preserves in its shape the memory of days when the living sacrifice of animals was the rule. The gaps in the mosaic pavement between the pillars and in front of them suggest that stands for statues—or else for candelabra or vases⁸—were let in here; while lamps must have hung from the chains for suspension, which have left their marks on the stucco of the arches that connect the pillars. The basilica needed all the artificial illumination it could get, since it had no windows except the one over the door through which an uncertain light filtered from the atrium.

Round altar, pillars and stands runs a double line of black mosaic, the

⁷ Cumont, *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, p. 14. See also his *After-Life in Roman Paganism*, p. 23.

⁸ Benfante, who believes that the monument was a mausoleum (which seems

impossible owing to the sacrificial remains), suggests that burial urns stood on the pillars, and he surmises that the vases of the frieze (below, p. 99) are copies of these.

irregularity of which was possibly introduced to distract attention from the irregularity of the ground-plan. The lines that run parallel to the walls are continued as far as the apse, where they turn inward again and are brought across the apse as if to mark this off from the body of the hall as a place of peculiar sanctity. The value of this dividing line is that of the altar rail between chancel and nave in a Christian church, or—to go back to Crete and to the second millennium B.C.—of the low balustrade that in certain houses at Knossos



FIG. 2.—MEDALLION (IN THE ATRIUM): MAENAD AND PANTHER.

shuts off the recess which, like the apse of our basilica, contained a priestly seat.⁹

One word remains to be said concerning the large cavity in the floor of the apse within the black line of mosaic. According to M. Hubaux,¹⁰ who attempts to connect the basilica with the obscure ritual of the *baptas* of the Thracian goddess Kōtytto, this pit was neither more nor less than a sort of baptismal font. The theory is attractive in itself, since, as we shall see in the sequel, rites of purification were evidently practised in the basilica, but the astonishing irregularity of the pit makes the theory almost impossible, and the fact that a dog and a pig had been sacrificed there renders the idea even less acceptable;

⁹ This interesting comparison was first made by Sir Arthur Evans, at the meeting of the Hellenic Society, in October 1920.

¹⁰ *Musée Belge*, 1923, pp. 56 ff.

nor can it be explained why no traces whatsoever of a lining to keep in the water or of pipes to carry it off have been discovered.

II. STUCCOES OF ATRIUM

We begin our description of the stuccoes with the *Atrium* or *pronaos* which is still covered with a rich decoration carried out partly in relief and partly in colour, and sometimes in both.¹¹ Though much damaged, it is of the utmost delicacy. The scheme of the friezes on the right and the left of the skylight as we face towards the apse works out into a symmetrical arrangement.

On the left the centre is marked by a red medallion in which is a maenad riding on a panther (Fig. 2). To right and left are female figures. To the right again is a small medallion with a figure of Eros. Further to the right is a bearded mask with bull's ears and horns. Above and below the maenad medallion is a frieze on which is represented Eros in a chariot drawn by two deer. Below the group of square panels with the medallion of Eros is a second frieze-like strip on which can be distinguished two or three figures, a pillar surmounted by an amphora and an animal (a hare?) running away to the left. It seems to be a scene of Bacchic revelry. Above the Eros medallions is a frieze with figures of Eros and Psyche.

The arrangement of the frieze on the right of the skylight is identical. In the centre the same circular medallion with a maenad; the rest is badly damaged.

The frieze of the cove facing towards the apse is made up as follows: panels containing a winged figure (much effaced) with drapery outspread; a female figure borne aloft by a winged genius;¹² a female figure with outstretched arms and a thyrsos in one hand.

The corresponding frieze over the door to the main chamber has been clumsily broken into by a window which we may surmise to be of later date and to have been cut when the light that filtered through the door into the basilica from the *lucernario* of the atrium was found to be insufficient.

The walls are divided horizontally into six broad strips, partly in relief, partly painted.¹³ On the inside walls of the entrance arch are panels with candelabra in white stucco.

The walls are divided into seven registers decorated as follows:—

1. Low dado divided into panels with landscapes (colonnades and sacred enclosures with figures of men, women and animals; a lake with ducks swimming and a heron on the shore), alternating with motives such as birds pecking at fruit. Separating the panels are Caryatid-like figures, maenads with thyrsi and tympana, who stand on pedestals like the feet of candelabra.

¹¹ The decoration of the atrium is well analysed by Bendinelli, *Ibid. Con.*, 1923, p. 9.

¹² Bendinelli, p. 22, detects an amphora held mouth downwards in the hands of the winged genius whom he identifies with the Genius *Astrale* carrying the *Statera*, and compares the similar figure in the Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina of the Antonine column (Sixing, *Roman*

Sculpture, PL LXXXII.) in that of Augustus on the 'Grand canal de France' (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXXI.) and on the armour of the Augustus from Prima Porta (*Ibid.*, Pl. III.).

¹³ For the landscapes, birds and the general scheme see the paintings of the columbarium of Villa Doria Pamphili (Santier, *Rom. Mitt.*, viii, 1903) recently removed to the Museo delle Terme—a comparison also made by Bendinelli, p. 9.

2. Above, large panels separated by candelabra. The stuccoes represent sacred enclosures with tree and pillar, similar in character to those round the walls of the main hall of the basilica.¹¹

3. Oblong panels; in one, two Tritons can be distinguished, with oar and aplustre.

4. Continuous band of volutes.

5. A narrow border of painted lines.

6. Panels—three on each wall—with figures of which only traces are left (a small satyr with a taller companion who is pouring wine from a wineskin into a crater; two figures seated on sprays of foliage); others seem to be imitations of triptychs with hinged and folding doors.

7. A narrow crimson band: on it are painted swags of leaves or flowers with fillets, suspended from slender columns.

This brief description suffices to show that the subjects of the vestibule decoration fall into line with the usual subjects found in the paintings or stuccoes of tombs: the birds pecking at fruit are familiar symbols of the soul eating of the fruit of life; figures of Eros or Psyche represent the soul in the Elysian fields; winged figures, women carried off by winged geni, maenads on panthers are symbols of apotheosis; Bacchic scenes are common symbols of after-life bliss. This imagery harmonises with the subjects of the basilica proper, but does little to develop their themes. One point that calls for special attention is the delicate and sustained quality of the stucco work of the atrium as compared with that of the main chamber, which is unequal and often faulty—especially in the ill-lit aisles. This difference may be accounted for by the better lighting of the atrium, which seemed perhaps to call for better workmanship; whereas the stuccoes of the main hall—except those of the apse and central ceiling upon which a direct light fell through the door and the window above it—can hardly have been seen at all.

III. STUCCOES OF THE MAIN HALL

The pillars, the walls, the apse at the east end of the nave, the three barrel vaults, in fact, all available spaces of the main hall were completely covered with a fine white stucco, upon which were represented innumerable figures and scenes in relief. Many of these have now disappeared—the stuccoes of the pillars more especially being in a very ruinous condition.

Immediately on entering the basilica we become aware of the same other-world character of the imagery for which our mind has already been prepared in the atrium. The supreme object of initiation is at once recalled by the figures of Victory which seem to proclaim from either side of the doorway the initiate's triumph over death. Numberless winged figures take up the theme throughout the basilica, and in the apse a stately Victory holds out the crown for the initiate soul (below, p. 102).

¹¹ Bendinelli (p. 10) notes similar decorative schemes in the Pyramid of Cestius

from the close of the Republic, the *Varusina* and altar reliefs.

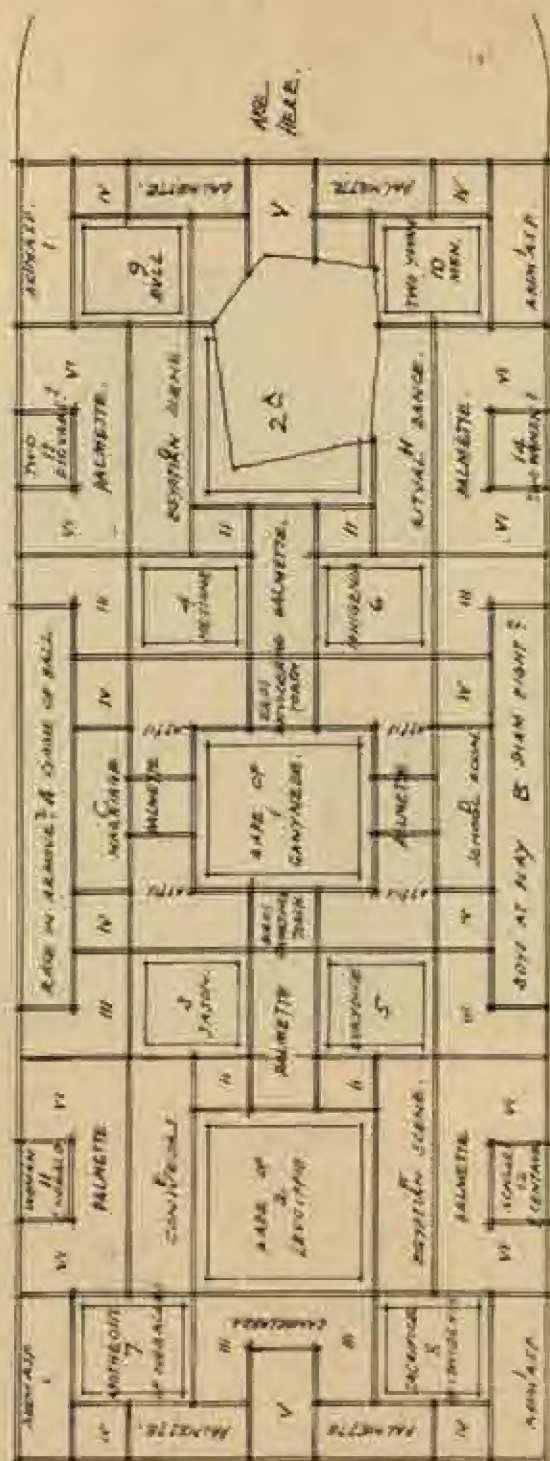


FIG. 3.—Diagram of CHARGE OF NAVY.

Overhead, in the centre of the soffit of the arch, is a head of Medusa to ward off evil influences.

On the entrance wall, above the door is a large mask of Ocean with a Triton on either side, one shouldering an oar, the other blowing his horn. A similar mask with a Triton and a dolphin appears in each of the lunettes in the tomb of the Anicii¹⁵ on the Via Latina, and also in the Tomb of Vincentius the priest of Sabazio and Vibia his wife.¹⁶ The mask survives as a sepulchral emblem



FIG. 4.—BASE OF LEXICIPPUS.

in the catacomb of Domitilla (Wilpert, *Catacombe Romane*, Pl. CXXXIV.). No fitter symbol could be devised for a sanctuary of initiation into mysteries of the after-life than the face of the beneficent power whom the Orphics in one of their hymns invoked as τέρμα φίλου γαίης ἀρχὴ πόντου.¹⁷ In philosophical speculation the soul in order to be purified was thought to pass upwards through all the four elements,¹⁸ and it is as one of the four that the Ocean mask appears in the tomb of Vincentius and Vibia: but as there had existed from the earliest classical times a belief that the Isles of the Blest, to which

¹⁵ Petronius, *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1891, pp. 191 ff., and *Mon. d. Inst.*, vi. Pl. XLIX-LIII.

¹⁶ Garrucci, *Arte Cristiana*, vi. p. 493.

¹⁷ Quoted by Leopold (*Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, xxxix. 1931, p. 177).

¹⁸ Cornout, *After-Life in Roman Paganism*, pp. 144 ff., and *passim*.

the souls as the good were transported after death, lay beyond the bounds of earth across the river Oceanus, water was the most frequently chosen of the purifying elements for symbolic representation.¹⁹

The mask occurs not infrequently on sarcophagi with the same meaning: e.g. Guzman, *L'Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pl. CXLVIA (*Lateran Museum*, Mask of Ocean flanked by Nereids and sea creatures); Guzman, Pl. CXLVIB (*Conservatori*, Mask of Ocean flanked by Erotes on dolphins); Reinach, *R. R.*, iii., p. 157 (*Aldobrandini*, Mask of Ocean flanked by Nereids and Tritons).

The ornamental scheme of the ceiling (Fig. 3) falls under Ronczowski's second heading, *Decorative*.²⁰ Though the structure of a coffered ceiling is no longer consistently carried out, the development of an arrangement of panels for an original ceiling of wooden beams is not wholly forgotten. The main design, which has been admirably analysed by Bendinelli (p. 12), is made up of three large square panels about which are arranged other smaller ones of a square or rectangular shape (Pl. III.). All these contain figure subjects while the interspaces are decorated with palmettes, masks and similar motives.

(a) The Large Central Panels with Scenes of Rape

1 (on plan). *Rape of Ganymede* (Pl. III.).—From the time of Leocarches downwards Ganymede is represented as carried off by an eagle, but there is no mention of the eagle in Homer (*Il.*, xx, 230), where the gods are said to have carried off the boy, or in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (203), where Ganymede is snatched up by a whirlwind, which might well be personified as a winged figure.²¹

The group occurs sometimes on sarcophagi²² and is common in other sepulchral sculpture, especially the Gallo-Roman,²³ e.g. at Igel near Trèves, where the group crowns a large sepulchral monument.²⁴ There is no doubt that in the basilica as at Igel the 'Ganymede' stands for the liberation and apotheosis of the soul and is shown as pouring out of the oenochoe the last dregs of human life, while the torch is a well-known symbol of immortality.²⁵

Set about this central panel are two Erotes, visible in Pl. III.; one shouldering a torch, the other with torch outstretched chasing a butterfly

¹⁹ Cf. *C. I. L.*, 6280 = *I. G.*, xiv, 1389 (Tomb of Anna Regilla), line 8.

αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρῃσι νέκυσται
ἐκ παύσης νεκρῶν.

line 21. Ζεὺς αὖτε ἐκ νεκρῶν παύσας ἑστῶτα
γυναικῶν ἀφ' ἑσπέρῃσι παύσας ἀναΐσσει
ἀναΐσσει.

²⁰ Ronczowski, *Gewölbeschmuck im Römischen Altertum* (1902), p. 28.

²¹ Cimont, *Rec. Arch.*, 1918, p. 56. Cf. *Travaux de la Société des Études Anciennes*, 1914, p. 33: *l'air et le feu* et *le dieu du vent* et *le dieu du feu* (Hom. 'Hymn to Aphrod.' 207-8).

²² Sarcophagus at Fies: below the portrait medallion of the deceased, Ganymede and the eagle between Oceanus and Gula (Reinach, *R. R.*, iii, 113, 1).

²³ Espartero, *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, 3272: Ganymede holds in his hand an object which is partly broken off (a torch as in our stucco?).

²⁴ Espartero, 3628; F. Drexler, *Röm. Mit.*, xxix, 1920, p. 53; Strong, *Apotheosis and After-Life*, p. 220.

²⁵ Cf. Eros with inverted torch in ceiling of arium.

(psyche), a frequent feature of sepulchral reliefs,²⁰ and at each corner the figure of a mourning Attis, similar in type to the many figures of Attis placed on sepulchral monuments as symbols of resurrection.²¹ The Attis from the bottom of the Portland vase,²² which I take to be likewise sepulchral, should be compared. According to Hepding and Cumont, the cult of Attis was officially recognised under Claudius,²³ so that his effigies on the vault of the basilica are probably an indication of date.²⁴

2 (on plan). *Rape of a Leucippid by one of the Dioscuri* (Fig. 4).—By analogy with the sarcophagi, there can be little doubt that the rape of the other sister was represented in the lost panel 2A. On the sarcophagi, where the subject is common,²⁵ we find a more or less symmetrical arrangement of the two rapes, while the scene at either end represents the subsequent marriage of the maidens in allusion to the mystic union of the soul with the god. In the present version, the grim aspect of the ravisher and the reluctance of the struggling girl are strongly marked. The man is almost reminiscent of the Etruscan death demon, and the intention is doubtless to recall the terrifying side of death as it appeared to the uninitiated, in contrast with the triumphant ascension of the soul symbolised by the Ganymede.

A figure, or group symbolic of the rape of the soul, almost invariably occupies the centre of tomb ceilings. In the tomb of the Anicii, a heavily veiled figure soars upwards on the eagle; in the tomb of the Valerii,²⁶ opposite, a veiled figure is borne upward on a griffin amid a host of impersonations of the soul riding fantastic beasts or carried by divinised beings. In the Cabotti tomb,²⁷ on the other hand, the central space is occupied by the group of the Dioscuri with their horses, symbols of yearly resurrection, while above them, two winged genii holding respectively the upright and the inverted torch, suggest the alternations of life and death. In this tomb, scenes signifying the ascent of the soul (Heracles borne aloft by a centaur shouldering an urn; Dionysus riding the panther) are disposed to right and left of the central panel.

²⁰ Good examples on a stucco plaque in the Louvre (Alinari phot., p. 15); this doubtless comes from a columbarium. Eros as a symbol of the soul in the other world is common on sarcophagi. Cf. the quat. from Plutarch given by Cumont, p. 57, n. 1.

²¹ Strong, *Apotheosis*, p. 195. The importance of Attis in Greek mystery ritual is evident from Dem., *De Corona*, 260, where the cry of *Hys Attis Attis Hys* is said to accompany the mystic dance. See Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, II, p. 138, and cf. Farnell, *Culte of the Greek Gods*, V, p. 125.

²² I am informed that the Attis was adjusted later to the Portland vase but does not really belong to it. In this case it would be a sepulchral glass plaque.

²³ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 187; Cumont, *Oriental Religions in the Roman Empire*, p. 53. Cf. Campino, *Attideia in Mediolan*, 1923, pp. 115 ff.

²⁴ That would be my opinion, but see Campino in *Rev. Arch.*, xviii, 1923, p. 6.

²⁵ Robert, *Sarcophagi-reliefs*, Pl. LVII, 180, 181; LVIII, 182; LIX, 184; also Reinach, *Reliefs*, iii, 449; other examples cited by Leopold, p. 187, n. 4. The design seems best adapted to a circular medallion as in the tomb of the Arruntii (now lost), Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, iii, Pl. XIII.

²⁶ Cf. Altmann, *Böhmische Grabkulture der Kaiserzeit*, Fig. 85, pp. 224 ff. Similar groups also occur in the decoration of secular buildings: Apollo on a griffin in Forum baths of Pompeii; armed figure riding a griffin in the centre of a ceiling from Villa Hadriana (Cameron, *Baths of the Romans*, Pl. LXIX.).

²⁷ J. H. Cabott, *Stuccati figurati esistenti in un antico sepolcro fuori delle mura di Roma*, 1795, Pl. I, etc.

(b) *The Four Smaller Square Panels with Mythological Groups*

[The rest of the ceiling falls into five sets of four panels each as follows: (b) the four square mythological scenes round Ganymede; (c) the four smaller mythological scenes at the two extreme ends of ceiling; (d) the four smaller mythological scenes above the impost; (e) the four long strips with the initiation of the *mystes*; (f) the long scenes symbolic of magical rites.]

Round these three large panels are grouped mythological subjects and



FIG. 5.—JASON STEALING THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

scenes from everyday life. We begin with the four mythological scenes within squares marked 3, 4, 5, 6 on plan.

3. *Jason, helped by Medea,³⁴ stealing the golden fleece* (Fig. 5).—A curious point is that he kneels on a table, doubtless correctly explained by Leopold (*Mélanges*, xxxix. p. 188) as a magical table (cf. papyrus at Leyden, pub. by Dieterich in *Jahrbuch f. d. Klass. Altert., Supp. Band xvi.* pp. 799-830,

³⁴ Medea wears a veil gleaming like silver, ointment to Jason. Ap. Rhod., *Argonautica*, iii. 833.

vv. 26 ff.). Below is another table and on it a box, showing that Medea, not content with drugging the serpent, has lent Jason all her magical apparatus. Jason is on a smaller scale than Medea. Perhaps the composition reverts to an early type in which the artist was concerned with keeping the figures isocephalic.

The subject occurs on a sarcophagus at Vienna, where Jason kneels on a rock (Reinach, *R. R.*, ii. p. 140). For other sarcophagi see Robert, *Sarcophagen*, ii. Pl. LXI, 188-192. Like the voyage of Heracles in quest of the apple of the Hesperides, or that of Theseus to the land of the Minotaur, Jason's voyage to Colchis was originally an other-world journey;³⁵ a trace of its real nature survives in Pindar,³⁶ who says that Jason went to fetch back the soul of Phrixos as well as the Golden Fleece.

In the action of Medea two ideas seem combined. She is evidently anxious to facilitate Jason's task by drugging the serpent, but her feeding of it suggests that originally she had also been the priestess of the monster who in turn was the guardian of the tree. This is clearly brought out on the terra-cotta plaque (Brit. Mus., D. 604) where Medea sits feeding the serpent who bends forward from the tree upon which hang—not the Golden Fleece, but *two snake skins*; the tree here being evidently intended for the Tree of Life, by eating of the fruit of which the serpent renews his immortality and sheds his old skin.³⁷ That the Tree and Serpent cult was familiar to the devotees of the basilica appears from the stuccoes of the left aisle (see p. 92).

4. *The liberation of Hesione by Heracles.*—This episode, like that of the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus on the monument at Igel, doubtless stands for the liberation of the initiated soul from the jaws of death. A scene of liberation by Heracles is perhaps chosen because he himself was initiated into the lesser mysteries of Agræ, and Heracles and Dionysus are often referred to as among the first men to become gods,³⁸ thus giving the precedent for the apotheosis that was afterwards believed to be the reward of the initiate.³⁹ The subject of Hesione occurs on tomb reliefs from the Rhine district, no doubt with the same significance,⁴⁰ and is sometimes among the labours of Heracles on sarcophagi.⁴¹ Heracles is represented as often as four times among the stuccoes. As a symbol of purification he was a popular figure of sepulchral art, and since the soul must be purged of sin even as Heracles purged the earth of monsters,⁴² he is peculiarly in place in a hall of initiation mysteries. Moreover, this adventure of Heracles seems to have involved an ordeal of

³⁵ Cf. also the voyage of Maelduin or of Bran, etc., in Celtic mythology: A. R. Cook, *Folklore*, xvii. 1906, pp. 141-73; J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, 1911, p. 385 ff.; cf. Kolder, *Keltische archaische*, i. p. 53.

³⁶ *Pyth.*, iv. pp. 159-60 (according to Leopold 'inexplicable').

³⁷ See J. G. Frazer, 'The Serpent and the Tree of Life,' in *Essays to W. Ridge-way*, pp. 412 ff.

³⁸ For Dionysos (*Liber Pater*), cf. Hor., *Epod.*, II. i. 5.; for Heracles, *Od.*, III. iii. 12-14.

³⁹ J. Bayet, 'Hercule Funéraire,' in *Mélanges*, xxxix. 1921-22, pp. 219 f.

⁴⁰ Esplanadien, 4485 (Spire); 2059 (Trèves); 5576 (Haguenau). Reinach, *Reliefs*, II. p. 58, Monument of Severinus Vitellus (Cologne).

⁴¹ E.g. Robert, III. i. Pl. XLII.

⁴² Bayet, p. 225.

unusual severity. According to E. S. Hartland (*Legend of Perseus*, I., p. 7), Heracles 'rang full-armed into the monster's throat,' whence he hacked his way forth after three days imprisonment hairless.⁴²

5. *Orpheus and Eurydice* (Fig. 6).—The attitude resembles that of Vibia and the *Angelus bonus*, who leads her to the banquet of the Blessed in the Elysian Fields,⁴³ in a painting of her tomb. The legend of Orpheus is again



FIG. 6.—ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE.

the story of a journey, in this case, to the underworld, from which the hero brings another back to life. But it also contained a warning, since by disobeying the injunctions of Hades he lost her again, though the two were ultimately united by his death. It is not certain that the well-known and beautiful Attic grave reliefs at Naples and in the Louvre were sepulchral, but

⁴² Full ref. in Hartland, who (III. p. 37) suggests that the vase in the Vatican showing Jason coming out of the monster's mouth may possibly refer to a similar

combat.

⁴³ Also reproduced in Maass, *Orpheus*, and see pp. 171 ff.

Orpheus who had dared to penetrate to Hades in order to bring back a beloved soul, was a popular figure in provincial sepulchral art, where he is often represented as charming the animals. Orpheus among the Thracians is represented as a symbol of resurrection over the central adicula of the tomb of Pomponius Hylas.⁴⁴ In the stucco Orpheus holds what has been interpreted as a pedum, but is more probably a long pliant branch (willow?).⁴⁵

6. *Man and seated woman holding a palladion* (Fig. 7).—The figures seem engaged in earnest conversation and the religious atmosphere is emphasised by the plinths which are similar to those in the fresco of the Villa Igem where Macchioro⁴⁶ has shown their religious and mantic significance.

The arrangement of the figures affords no certain clue to the identification. We must therefore look for an interpretation of the scene in the temple setting, the grief of the woman and the image which she holds. The image with right arm raised to hold the spear suggests the Trojan palladion. Connected with this there were two stories, the Rape of Cassandra and the stealing of the palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes. The first is a story of violence which evidently has nothing to do with the meditative calm of the personages represented here. On the other hand, the *Rape of the Palladion* seems at first sight more promising. It is found on sarcophagi,⁴⁷ and Diomedes holding the palladion is depicted in the tomb of the Amicii on the Via Latina. If this relief refers to that legend, the woman should be Helen, who recognised Odysseus when he made his way into Troy disguised as a beggar, and helped the two heroes to steal the palladion,⁴⁸ an episode on which the *Lakainai* of Sophocles is based.

Indeed, the palladion and the semi-nudity of the figure tempt one to think that the stucco represents an apotheosis of the soul in the semblance of Helen, who on the Meli sarcophagus, for instance, is one of four deities who represent the dead woman.⁴⁹ It must be admitted, however, that there is no representation known of Helen alone with Diomedes, or holding the palladion herself.

There remains the possibility that this scene is not concerned with the palladion of Troy at all. Another *Égaree*—that of the Tauric Artemis—figured conspicuously in the story of Orestes, which was one well known to sepulchral art (Robert, II. taf. lvii., Fig. 167, etc.). That the image in the relief is armed is no objection to this identification (Roscher, III. i. pp. 1008, 1330). A sarcophagus (Robert, II. Fig. 168) presents the image of the goddess as armed with helmet, shield and spear, and a Campanian wall painting (Robert, II. p. 181) also gives her the palladion form. A still more striking example occurs on a gem in the Uffizi (Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemm.*, Pl. LVIII. 6),

⁴⁴ *P.B.S.R.*, v. 1910, p. 468.

⁴⁵ In the painting of Polygnotos in the Lesche at Delphi, Orpheus was represented touching a willow branch (Paus. 10, xxx. 6). *Six, Ath. Mûs.*, 1894, p. 338; followed by C. Robert, *Die Hainthenschlacht in der Poikile*, p. 122, suggests that Orpheus carried a willow branch with him at the time of his

descent to Hades, and that this was the Golden Bough of Virgil.

⁴⁶ Macchioro, *Zagreus*, pp. 22-42.

⁴⁷ Robert, II. Pl. I.

⁴⁸ See the ref. in Roscher, s.v. 'Helen' col. 1909.

⁴⁹ Dalbrück, *Jahrbuch*, 1913, pp. 217 sq. (see esp. p. 302).

which has several points in common with the stucco, though the design is more complicated owing to the presence of four figures instead of two. Another gem (Furtwängler, Pl. LXVII. 24, and cf. the central group on sarcophagi, Robert, Pl. LIX. 177, 178) shows Orestes and Pylades before the temple. Pylades (?), who leans mournfully on a pillar, resembles the male figure of the



FIG. 7.—*MALE AND FEMALE WITH PALLADIUM.*

stucco, and Orestes is seated on a plinth in almost the same attitude as the woman of the relief. A figure (Erinyes ?) in this attitude appears also on the Coraii silver vessel with the trial of Orestes (Reinach, *R. E.*, iii, 223, 4). On a gem representing the trial (Roscher, III. p. 991, Fig. 5) Orestes has one foot raised on a rock.²⁰

²⁰ We may also compare a mosaic of the Conservator Gull, where Iphigenia (standing), with the image of the goddess in her right arm, is speaking to Orestes, who sits on a plinth and gazes at her intently (B.S.R.,

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Qu. Mus. Contr., Gall. Sup., No. 10). It has been suggested that the pair are Helen and Diomedes, but the priestly veil and wreath seem more appropriate to Iphigenia.

These parallels between the attitudes of the figures in our relief and those of the Orestes myth tend to confirm the hypothesis that Orestes and Iphigenia are here intended. Orestes then is telling Iphigenia the story of his madness and his plan for stealing the image, to which she listens in despair. Cf. Eurip., *Iph. in Taur.*, vv. 1017-1019.

A further point which brings this interpretation into line with the subjects of the corresponding panels, e.g. Jason and the Golden Fleece, is that the journey of Orestes to the Tauric Chersonese is also an example of the other-world journey (v. Roscher, III. p. 994). That the Iphigenia myth was known to the artists of the basilica will be seen immediately.

A female figure in the attitude of the one in our relief, and a man (bearded) with foot raised on rock, occur likewise among the figures of the Portland vase, in a scene that very possibly represents a group of initiates. M. Hubaux believes the scene of the stucco to be simply one of initiation; but symmetry demands myth here to correspond to the other three panels. In a sense the four mythological panels and the Ganymede, taken together, seem intended to present a closely compacted group of passion-dramas ending in a glorious ascension and apotheosis.

(c) *The Four Corner Panels with Mythological Scenes above Door and near Apse*

7 (on plan). *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*.—The act of *καταρχή* is represented. Calchas (right), wearing a short chiton, seizes a lock of Iphigenia's hair and cuts it off with his sword, the initial rite of the sacrifice.

This representation is almost identical with a wall painting from Pompeii (Halbig 1305=Reinach, *R. P.*, i. p. 169, 2)²¹ which also includes Agamemnon. It is an obvious allusion to the necessity for resignation to the will of the gods, followed in this instance by a miraculous escape from death,²² while initiation is compared to the initial rite, and the apotheosis which follows to the rescue of Iphigenia.

8 (on plan). *The Apotheosis of Heracles* (1).—Heracles (left) stretches out his arm to Athena. She makes a movement as if kissing the hand of Heracles. With this action may be compared a sarcophagus fragment in the Museo delle Terme and a painting from the Golden House of Nero (preserved by Bartoli),²³ where Heracles grasps the arm of Athena in order to kiss it. The artist of the basilica seems to reproduce a similar scene with the gestures reversed.

In the Tomb of the Anicii the apotheosis of Heracles is represented on a panel on the left where Heracles sits playing the lyre among a group of deities

²¹ Cf. also the Scene on the Arm in Florence (Reinach, *R. R.*, iii. 31, 2).

²² Cf. Proclus (p. 19, ed. Kink). "Ἀφαινή ἐκ αἰθέρος ἐφωσμένη εἰς Τάυρον μετακίβηται καὶ ἀδίδραται τοῖς. Ἰάκχον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκδιδραμένην τὴν θύσαν."

²³ Bartoli-Didot, *Recueil de Peintures*

Antiques, i. 13. (Cf. Garnier, *Vestri figures in oro*, Pl. XXXV., where Heracles takes the hand of Athena.) The type seems to derive from a wall painting of the first century A.D. (Robert, *ibid.* p. 162). In early Imperial times kissing the hand was a form of saluting the emperor.

that includes Athena. In the subject there is an allusion to the benefits which come from initiation, since the Labours of Heracles are the equivalent of the rites which confer eternal felicity.

9 (on plan). *The sacred bull* (much obliterated).—The nude smaller figure at the head of the bull may be female and the scene be that of Pasiphaë and the Cretan Bull.⁵⁴

10 (on plan). *Two young men clasping hands* (much obliterated).—Perhaps the divine twins (*Gemini*), in which case the panel immediately preceding may refer to the sign *Taurus*, an allusion, may be, to the date of a spring festival or in allusion to resurrection.

(d) *The Mythological Subjects of the Four Smaller Panels* (11, 12, 13, 14)

The small panels above the impost also contain mythological subjects (11, 12, 13, 14 on plan).

11. *Electra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon*.—In the background lie the dead bodies of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. For the attitude of Electra and her semi-nudity, cf. the terra-cotta from Meles, now in the Louvre, with modern inscriptions.⁵⁵ The moral pointed by the story of Orestes, the punishment that overtakes guilt, is obvious. But there is a further and more deeply mystical allusion in the punishment that is to overtake Orestes for sinning against the laws of nature.

12. *Achilles (I) and Centaur*.—A boy stands on the right watching the movements of a centaur (left) who is instructing him in some exercise.

Probably intended for the education by Chiron of Achilles. A similar scene occurs on the ends of sarcophagi (Robert, *ib.*, p. vii.). Generally it is Achilles who is performing the exercises. Achilles learning to play the lyre under Chiron's instruction is among the paintings in the tomb of Pomponius Hylas.⁵⁶ Besides, the centaur, a magical creature,⁵⁷ has a special place in mystery religions and chthonian cults, and is one of the commonest features of sepulchral sculpture and painting. A centaur holding a lyre is a frequent type of resurrection and apotheosis on sarcophagi.

13. *Two figures*, standing and fully draped, one of whom appears to hold a thyrsus; but the action is not clear owing to the bad state of the relief.

14. *Scene of divination or nekymancy*.—A woman seated on a low mound or base and a woman standing and holding a long thyrsus grasp between them a vase by the handle; of the action (though with sides reversed and a man in place of the standing woman) is a wall-painting in Naples (Helbig, *Wandgem.*, 1565; Hubert in *Saggio*, art. 'magia,' Fig. 4781), rightly interpreted by Hubert and others as a visit to a magician.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ It resembles in some particular wall paintings of Apollo in the service of Admetus. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 229 and 231; Reinach, *R. P.*, p. 28, 1 and 8.

⁵⁵ *Mon. d. Inst.*, vi., vii. Pl. LVII.

⁵⁶ *Papers of British School at Rome*, V,

1910, p. 469 (Ashby).

⁵⁷ See Hubert in *Saggio*, art. 'magia,' p. 1497.

⁵⁸ Cf. the scene on the end of a sarcophagus at Athens (Reinach, *R. R.*, B. p. 466).

(e) *Four Long Panels Symbolic of the Education of the Mystes (A, B, C, D)*

Besides the mythological scenes, there are frieze-like strips of decoration containing subjects connected with human life (A-H on plan), but, as so often in this type of art, used with symbolic significance.

The two longest (A-B on plan) represent exercises in the palaestra (Pl. III.):

(A) A paedotribe holding a rod; two small figures (boys) practising for a race in armour; a man supporting a shield.

Further to the left are figures in vigorous attitudes; a ball game may be represented here.

(B) *Children's games.* (i) A boy sits on the ground, while another touches him on the head. A third runs away whirling a rattle; a fourth smaller child stands looking on with his hands lifted in a gesture of astonishment. The boy seated in the centre presumably has his eyes shut and has to guess who touched him, a game still played in Italy at the present time. (ii) Further to the left are two boys moving to the right; one appears to be holding a string round the neck of his companion, which suggests that they are playing horses. (iii) The left half of the panel is occupied by a sham fight. The paedotribe stands on the left. Two boys with squarish shields, holding daggers, advance together; on the right a man with similar equipment stands awaiting their attack. Between them, in the background, are two upright stakes, perhaps marking the limits of the ground which each party has to defend.⁵⁵

C (on plan): Above B is a *marriage scene*.

Marriage scenes are common on sarcophagi, as is only natural, since they might at once serve to recall the earthly bliss of the deceased, the promise of their reunion, and at the same time symbolise union with the Divinity (*ἑρὸς γάμος*).⁵⁶

The idea of marriage as a rite of initiation is, moreover, widespread: that a marriage is represented here with this allusion seems confirmed by the scene to be considered next, in which boys are being initiated into the mysteries of the god whose symbol is the mask.

Above A, *scene in a School* (D on the plan, Pl. III.).—The Schoolmaster sits holding a rod. Behind him a boy steals up on tiptoe with hands outspread to preserve his balance. Before the Schoolmaster stands a boy with his back to him, facing a mask hung up on a wooden post. The boy's hands are crossed in front of him and his writing tablets hang from one of them. Behind the mask, on the left, stands another boy, also with writing tablets.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ A religious meaning should doubtless be attributed to the games and scenes from the palaestra in the reliefs of the two bases found in 1922 near the Athenian Ceramics.—*J.H.S.* xlii. 1922, Pls. VI and VII. (style of end of sixth century, B.C.).

⁵⁶ Dietrich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 3rd ed. (Weinmich), p. 121 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. grave reliefs from Arles, (Espé-

randieu) 4103; Neumagen, 3149; Narbonne, 619. For the symbolic meaning of these scenes see Strong, *Apotheosis*, p. 219; against this view see Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, p. 91, who sees no mystic allusion in these reliefs, but merely pride on the part of parents in the education given to their children.

The scene recalls the epigram of Callimachus (No. 51 = Mackall, *Select Epig.*, iv. 26), where an image or mask of Dionysus, affixed to the wall beneath the Pythagorean Y, complains of having to listen all day to the boys saying their lessons.

The attitudes of the boy looking at the mask and the boy behind the schoolmaster resemble those of the young satyrs in the scenes of initiation of certain Hellenistic reliefs⁸¹ in the Capitoline museums and at Naples, in which, in the upper half of the relief, a nymph is taking a large Dionysiac mask out of a chest, while an ithyphallic image of Priapus appears on the right below.

It seems clear that the four scenes just discussed stand for different stages of initiation—a sort of novitiate culminating in marriage as supreme *τελευτή*.⁸²



FIG. 3.—CONJURING SCENE.

(1) *The Four Scenes Symbolic of Magical Ritual*

E (on plan).—Above the Leucippid panel (2 on plan) is a scene representing conjurers (Fig. 3). On the right is a man holding a stick and gesticulating. Before him is a three-legged table; on the ground, a vase. Then comes a woman bending over the table. Behind her is an elderly man; to the left is another man gesticulating.

This conjuring scene probably derives from Hellenistic prototypes: see especially the bronze vase in the Louvre.⁸³ It may be supposed to stand for the *μανεῖαι*, magical incantations which according to Plutarch, *De Superst.*, xii., formed part of the rites of initiation; while Leopold, who identifies the figures as jugglers, sees in them a possible reference to the jugglery of life.

F (on the other side of the Leucippid panel): *Egyptian scene*.—A pygmy dancing. A woman kneeling feeding two lion cubs. Two men, one on each side of a fallen amphora; and on the right a man seems to be running forward, or dancing.

⁸¹ Schreiber, *Hell. Reliefs*, Pls. XLVI-XLVIII; B.S.B., *Art. Mus. Conserv.*, p. 29 (Galleria) No. 264; cf. B.S.B., *Art. Mus. Conserv.*, p. 479 ('Elkessell,' p. 118).

⁸² See J. E. Harrison in *Hastings' Dict. of B. and E.*, s.v. 'Initiation, Greek,' p. 322.

⁸³ Bennoch, *R. R.*, ii. p. 291.

G (above the lost panel, 2A): *Egyptian scene*.—On the left is a scene like the central part of F: Two men are trying to pick up (?) a fallen amphora. In the centre is a hut; a pygmy approaches from the right; to the right a palm tree.

Similar scenes are common in Roman wall paintings and mosaics, and at Pompeii in the so-called fourth style. They are also found among subjects relating to after-life beliefs in the columbarium of the Villa Doris Pamphili.⁴²

To our modern mind pygmies are simply grotesque dwarfs, but in primitive cosmographies they seem to have stood for the South, as did the Ethiopians for the East, the Hyperboreans for the North, or the Hesperides for the West.⁴³ They belonged, therefore, to a distant land of mystery and adventure—afterwards identified with the Nile country—whither the dead might be conveyed. From the earliest times, Egypt was the land of magic and magical initiations. Hence, on a sepulchral vase from Ruvo in the Hermitage (Reinach, *R. F.*, p. 12), the myth of Demeter and Triptolemus is localised in Egypt by means of the river Nile, inscribed Νεῖλος.⁴⁴

H (corresponding to G on the opposite side): *Dancers*.—On the extreme right a kneeling woman playing the pipes.

Dancing also being a main feature of magical ritual, we shall not be far wrong in supposing that the last three scenes, like the first, symbolise magical ceremonies, a theory borne out by Pliny's remark cited by Carcopino that the Pythagoreans were suspected of practising magic.

(g) *The Remaining Spaces*

F. The spaces not occupied by figure-scenes are filled in with palmettes and other motives as follows (3-iv on plan):—At the four corners (i), combat between a griffin and an Arimaspe.⁴⁵ That a pair of similar groups forms part of the ornamentation of the thrones of the priest of Dionysus from the theatre at Athens is significant as showing it associated with a mystery cult. The griffin as a monster hostile to man might represent the ravening powers of death.⁴⁶ At the same time it is more probable that the griffin is introduced here as symbol of the Apolline power of light fighting the power of darkness embodied in the Arimaspe. The griffin being specially sacred to Apollo, the chief god of the Pythagoreans, it is obviously in place in a building erected, it is thought, by a Pythagorean sect. It was also a vehicle of the soul's transit,⁴⁷ on the ceiling of the tomb of the Valerii and elsewhere.

Among the remaining decorative motives are numerous winged Victories with outstretched arms (ii) in the attitude of *Orantes* (souls or else *εὐχαι* personified, see p. 59), and others *pouring libations* (iii) or incense over

⁴² E. Samter, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1893, pp. 103-141; Reinach, *R. F.*, p. 314, 4; 6; 7.

⁴³ Cf. Breget, *Kosmographie der Griechen*, 1904, p. 21 ff.

⁴⁴ See Hubert in *Saglio*, art. 'magia,' p. 1203 and Albizzati in *Revue Archéol. Pont. Arch. Romana*, p. 191.

⁴⁵ Parallels in Reinach, *R. R.*, ii. 285, 286, 298.

⁴⁶ Cf. Cassius, *De Histiis Carminibus quondam Phocæis* (Kleine Schriften, III, pp. 411-459—esp. p. 427).

⁴⁷ Cornu, *After-Life in Roman Pythagoreanism*, p. 156.

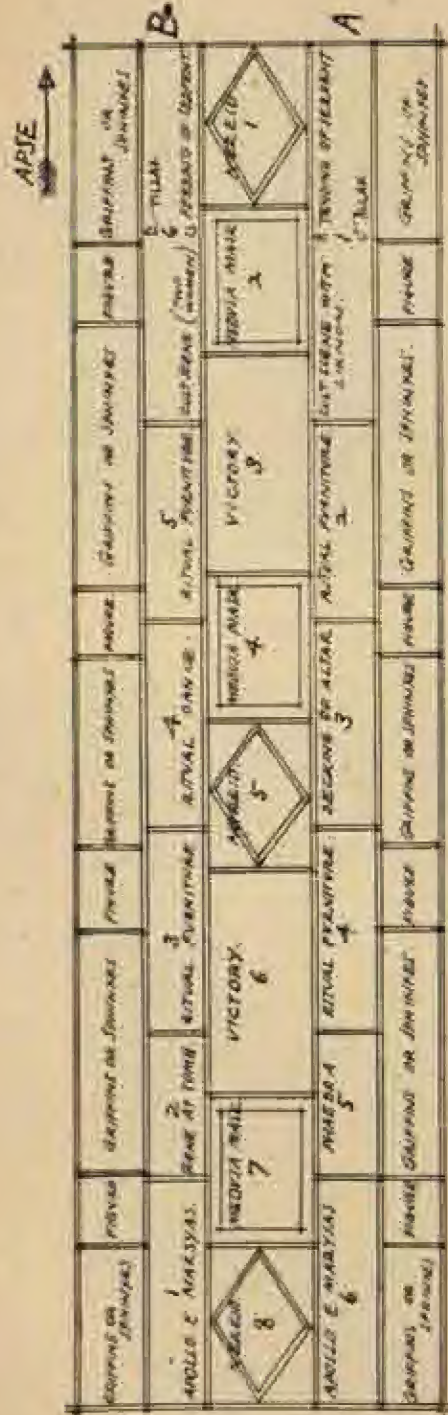


FIG. 1.—EFFECT OF QUINONE ON LACT ACID.

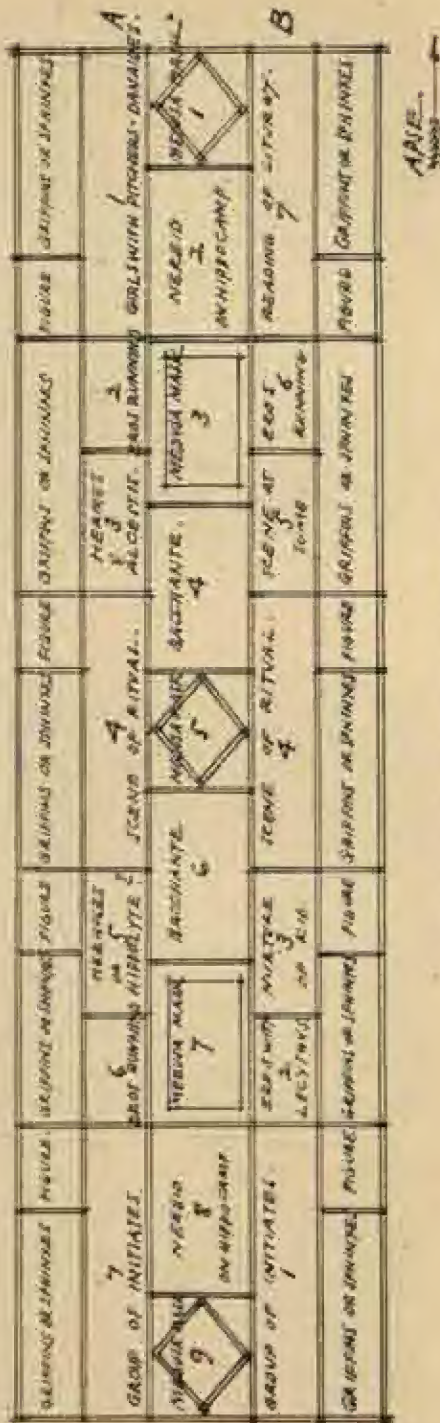


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF CHURCH OF SAINT ANNE.

candelabra or thymiateria.⁶⁸ While the Victories symbolise the triumph of the soul over death, the candelabra stand for funeral or temple lights made permanent, and also for the cleansing fire which burns away the impurities of the soul, a meaning that also attaches to the thymiateria, since incense was used in purification rites. There are also several masks (iv) of apotropaic character in the form of Medusa heads or sun disks, and others (vi) of a bearded male head with bull's ears and horns intended probably as a symbol of Dionysus. Finally we have a woman carrying a pitcher on her head (v, on ceiling above door), which possibly held water for the ritual.



FIG. 11.—CULT SCENE FROM THE CAROTT TOMB.

IV. CEILINGS OF THE AISLES

The decoration of the vaults of the aisles is in five longitudinal bands subdivided into panels (Figs. 9, 10).

(a) *The Left Aisle*

The central broadest strip is divided into eight rectangular panels; beginning from the end nearest the apse, these are decorated as follows (Fig. 9): 1, 5, 8: Nereid riding on a hippocamp⁶⁹; 2, 4, 7: Heads of Medusa; 3: Winged Victory holding a sword⁷⁰; 6: Winged Victory holding a veil.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Farnesina Stuccosa* (Gumma, *Atti Accad. dei Lincei*, Pt. LXXIV.).

⁶⁹ Cf. *Tomb of Valerius* (Peterson, *Annali* 188, pp. 248 sq.), where the greater part of the decoration consists of nymphs

riding sea-creatures, symbolising the voyage of the soul.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Farnesina Stuccosa* (Gumma, Pt. XXXVI.).



FIG. 12.—RITUAL SCENE FROM THE LEFT AISLE.



FIG. 13.—APOLLO AND A MUSE FROM THE LEFT AISLE.

The two outer strips which decorate the top of the walls above the ritual objects and statues are divided into friezes and panels of unequal length. Beginning from the upper end apse on the right, we find :—

A 1.—*Two cult scenes* divided by a pillar surmounted by a vase (?) and against it a herm (?). The first scene is made up of two women and a tree. At the foot of the tree on the left is a shapeless lump, perhaps a rock, but possibly a coiled-up serpent (see B 6 opposite).

The second scene is composed of two women: one, seated, extends her hand to the second, who holds out a *liknon* containing a phallus and a cloth—the phallus has probably just been unveiled. The action of this figure may be compared with that of Silenus bearing a *liknon* on the well known Campana plaque.⁷¹

The serpent is discussed more fully below. The *liknon* with the phallus was an essential part of the Dionysiac religion. Of special importance as a parallel to our stucco is the panel to right of the central niche in the Cabott tomb, showing a woman supporting on a pillar a *liknon* inside which stands up a phallus wrapped in a cloth (Fig. 11, after Cabott, *Stucchi figurati*, Pl. XIX.).

A 2.—Amphora, hoop and tympanon (cf. B 5).

A 3.—*Ritual scene* (Fig. 12). A woman placing a garland on an altar; a second woman carrying a thyrsus with a long sash tied to it; a third woman playing the double pipes (cf. Farnesina Stuccoes).

A 4.—*Table*. Three phialae and an oenochoe; branch and crown (cf. B 3).

A 5.—*Phaedra and Hippolytus*.

This is a common subject on sarcophagi⁷² to convey the idea that the uninitiated who stood aloof from and despised the mysteries would, like Hippolytus, be overtaken by catastrophe.

A 6.—*Apollo and Marsyas preparing for the contest*.⁷³ (Fig. 13.)

The pose of Apollo is the same as on the marble disk at Dresden with the group of Apollo and Marsyas, in which Amelung has surmised that the figures might come from an extensive composition of the Pergamene school. It seems not impossible that this panel and the next reproduce the whole or a considerable part of such a group.

On the opposite side, as we return towards the apse :—

B 1.—*Apollo and Marsyas* (ii) (Fig. 14).—This is the sequel to the last scene to which it corresponds in position. Apollo sits on a rock, holding a lyre. On the right is Marsyas bound to a tree, and before him stands the Scythian with his knife ready. At the feet of Apollo kneels a figure from which the plaster has nearly fallen away. The kneeling figure in this scene is usually Olympus, the disciple of Marsyas but the full forms, the drapery and the flowing hair seem to indicate that the figure is female; and E. Galli⁷⁴ is

⁷¹ J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 2nd ed. p. 517.

⁷² Robert, iii. 2, Pls. II-LVI.

⁷³ Bendinelli, p. 29 and Fig. 4.

⁷⁴ *Memorie della classe di scienze morali etc. (Accad. Lincei)*, xvi. 1920, p. 36 ff. and Pl. II.

doubtless right in identifying it as the Phrygian Cybele, the protectress of Marsyas, interceding with Apollo on his behalf.

The story of Marsyas serves to warn man that only the uninitiated might be guilty of challenging the power of the gods, and the figure of Marsyas is a reminder of the fate that awaits them. The victory of Apollo over Marsyas, i.e. of the lyre over the flute, further illustrates the supremacy of the instrument, which was subtle enough to convey to mortal ears the harmonies of the celestial spheres; while Cumont's theory that the basilica was Pythagorean gains force from the prominence given here and elsewhere in the stuccoes to Apolline myths, since Apollo rather than Dionysus is now recognised to have been the chief god of the Pythagoreans.⁷⁴



FIG. 14.—THE PUNISHMENT OF MARSYAS.

B 2.—*Figures at a tomb.* A woman seated. A youth places his left hand on the top of the pillar.

B 4.—*Ritual dance* (Fig. 15). A girl playing a tympanon; two women with dishevelled hair, one of whom brandishes a sword and holds aloft in her right hand a head or mask.⁷⁵ At first sight this looks like Agave with the head of Pentheus, but the tympanon player is clearly not sharing in the orgiastic excitement of the two dancers, and from this it may be inferred that this is a scene of ritual, and the head, a mask, represents the head of Zagreus, the Orphic Dionysus. The second woman seems to turn away from the mask in awe or terror (cf. the gesture of the winged figure who turns away from the uncovered phallus in the Villa Igem). According to Firmicus Maternus (*de error. prof. relig.*, c. 6), Bacchic worshippers imitated the rending of Zagreus by the Titans, and this scene may be a more purely dramatic form of the ritual than tearing a bull to pieces.

⁷⁴ J. Burnet: *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 90.

⁷⁵ Cf. figure on an altar in the Uffizi, Florence (Rogger, s.v. 'Pentheus,' Fig. 6).

B 5.—Amphora, hoop, tympanon, and temple key (†). The key has a symbolic and magical value both in Greek and Roman religion. It is among the insignia of the priesthood (cf. *καὶ δαυχός* of Iphigenia as priestess of Artemis in Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 131) and a procession of the key (doubtless that of the underworld) was a ceremonial of importance.⁷⁶

B 6.—Two cult scenes separated as on the panel opposite (A 1) by a pillar, against which leans a Priapic herm. To the right, two women: the first, seated, holds out her hand towards a standing woman, leaning on a torch, making a like gesture. On the left is a scene of great interest quite clearly representing the *Cult of a sacred serpent*, in which a woman who recalls the Medea of the nave (p. 77) holds out a phiale and strokes with her right hand the head of a serpent coiled round the tree. It is difficult to say whether the scene is mythological (like that of the Hesperids who feed the guardian snake of the Golden Apples), or is simply one of priestly ritual. The cult of the snake was of supreme importance in all mystery religions, and an allusion to it could hardly be left out in the basilica (cf. the sacred snake in the initiation scene of the Portland vase, Reinach, *R. R.*, ii. p. 496, 3-5).^{76a}

In the scenes of ritual the hands are disproportionately large, as though to emphasise the gestures. Several figures (e.g. the tympanon player, the girl right of the altar, etc.) stand with one leg bent and placed behind the other. This attitude, though monotonous, is no doubt ritual. We find it again in the *liknon* panel of the Cabott tomb (Fig. 11).

The narrow strips immediately above the cornices are divided into alternate long and square panels. The former are decorated with pairs of griffins and pairs of sphinxes guarding the vase of life (in allusion perhaps to the *μὲν αἰώνος* or else to the holy water for lustration), in the scheme familiar from the frieze of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. As creatures sacred to Apollo, the god of light, and as symbols of watchful strength,⁷⁶ griffins were a favourite feature of sepulchral art when they also often appear as the vehicle of the soul's transit to the Empyrean⁷⁷ (tombs of the Valerii and of the Arruntii). Within the smaller panels are single figures: Baccchantes; a woman placing a garland on an altar; figures of Eros, of Hypnos, etc.

(b) Right Aisle

The central strip is divided into nine panels as follows (Fig. 10): 1, 5, 9,

⁷⁶ On the magical property of the key, see Hubert in *Saglio*, art. 'magia,' p. 1508; Béd., Vallée, art. 'serra,' p. 247.

^{76a} Cf. Dietrich, *Mithrasbilderhefte*, Bd. vi. (Weinreich), p. 123 and Legge, *Forerunners and Birth of Christianity*, i. p. 145.

⁷⁷ Fortwängler brings out this meaning of the griffin in Ionian art, *Sitzungsber. der philol. Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie*, 1897, p. 126 and Pl. IX. (terracotta frieze). The significance of the sphinx

in our stuccoes must likewise be that of the embolded guardian (see Nicole in *Saglio*, s.v. sphinx). Bordinelli mentions leopards among the creatures of this frieze, but owing to the great height and the curves of the vault, details are difficult to make out.

⁷⁷ Cf. Strong, *Apotheosis*, p. 209: griffins appear on the short ends of the well-known tomb (Tomba di Nerone) on the Via Cassia, and they decorate the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Miletus (Louvre).

mask of Medusa; 3, 7, mask of Medusa; 2, 8, Nereid on hippocamp; 4, 6, Bacchantes.⁷⁹

The two side strips, as in the left aisle, contain ritual and mythological subjects. Beginning at the upper end, we find on the left-hand side —

A 1.—So-called *Danaides*: girls with pitchers.

This scene at once recalls the famous 'Water-carriers' painted by Polygnotus in the Lesche of Delphi, described by Pausanias (x. 313): 'the women . . . are carrying water in broken pitchers. . . . An inscription common to both sets forth that they are the uninitiated.' The meaning here is evidently the same. This punishment was attributed especially to the daughters of Danaus, and according to Plato (*Gorgias*, 493B), the Danaides in the underworld are the uninitiated, so that it may very well be that these women also are Danaides, since a myth was a favourite method of conveying a religious doctrine.



FIG. 15.—RITUAL DANCE.

The contrast between the initiated and the uninitiated is well shown on a sarcophagus where Bacchantes, i.e. the initiated, and Danaides are shown side by side in the underworld (Robert, ii., Pls. 4., II.).

A 2.—Eros running.

A 3.—Hermes leading a female, veiled because dead, i.e. consecrated; ⁸⁰ probably Alcestitis.

The myth of Alcestitis is a favourite subject of sepulchral art (e.g. sarcophagus in Vatican (Robert, iii., Pl. VII., 350, i.); Tomb of Vincentius and Vibia; Sepolceto on Via Ostiensis; ⁸⁰ Tombs of the Anicii). Its special significance lies in the fact that Alcestitis, a mortal woman, went down into the underworld, remained there for a time, and returned, showing that it is possible for mortals to overcome death; while her rescue from Hades seems to anticipate the Christian purgatory.

⁷⁹ E.g. Steing, *Apotheosis*, Pl. XXVI.

⁸⁰ Cf. Suida, *Apocryph.* 13, where Hermes veils the head of Claudius before conducting him below.

⁸⁰ Lugli in *Bis. di Architettura e Arti decorative*, 4, 1921, p. 241, Fig. 24 (Hermes leading Alcestitis).

A 4.—*Ritual scene*: a woman planting a thyrsos into the ground (?); another running; a third crawling.

A 5.—*Heracles and Hippolyte* (?).

Once the function of Heracles was established in after-life beliefs, any of his labours might symbolise the dangers and trials of this life. On sarcophagi, however, the episode of his combat with the Amazon is more common. As the hero carries both club and lion skin he is more likely to be Heracles than Theseus, who according to M. Hubaux is here represented with Ariadne giving him the clue.

A 6.—Eros.

A 7: *Ritual scene* (?): two women seated on rocks, a woman leaning against a pillar, and a fourth holding a fan.

The upper half of the figure by the pillar is badly damaged; was she holding something which would be a clue to the scene? The attitude recalls that of the nymph who carries the infant Dionysus in a painting of the Farnesina (*Mon. dell' Ist.*, xii., Pl. XVIII.), where, as here, another figure carries a fan; so that the group may be one of maenads and nymphs attendant on the infant Dionysus, a suggestion borne out by B. 3 (below).

On the opposite side (returning towards the apex):—

B 1.—*Group of Muses* (?) or of initiates: a figure seated in front of a pillar; a woman holding a small object (a plectrum?), standing in front of a seated woman who holds out an object;⁸¹ all the figures are wreathed.

It seems probable that A 7 and B 1, which are evidently composed to correspond, are intended to give a picture of the blessed felicity to which the holy rites may lead the initiate.

B 2.—Eros holding a lekythos (?).

B 3.—*Nurture of a kid*: a woman seated; with her left hand she holds out a fold of her dress, as though she had been suckling the kid which a second woman is carrying off.

The scene recalls the group of two female Satyrs in the Villa Igem at Pompeii (*J.R.S.*, iii., 1910, Pl. X.). A forgotten Roman painting in the Louvre, representing two women offering food to a fawn, obviously belongs to the same series.⁸²

B 4.—*Ritual scene*: a pillar and a female figure; a seated figure turning back to look at a third who holds either a thyrsus or a long branch. A fourth figure is roughed in to the right.

B 5.—*Mythological scene* (?): on the right a tomb, on the steps of which sits a figure (sex uncertain); on the left is a youth holding a sword and raising his right hand in a gesture of either explanation or expostulation.

⁸¹ Cf. *P.B.S.R.*, vii., Pls. XXVI, XXVII, where priestesses are attended by young girls. Groups of initiates shown engaged in a sort of 'sacra conversazione' are common in this class of wall paintings. The 'Aidebrendini marriage' may be another example: I have pointed this out in my lectures on Roman painting. Cf. also E. D. Van Haren in *J.R.S.*, ix., 1919, p. 224.

⁸² Cf. Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xiv., 261 sqq., xxiv., 130 sqq. For the whole question as to the kid in Dionysiac and Orphic ritual, see S. Reinach, *Culte, mythes et religions*, ii., pp. 122 ff., and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, pp. 475 f. Cf. also *Mon. d. Ist.*, xii., Pl. XLII, (Farnesina). Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. I, XV, p. 46, shows a Maenad suckling a panther.

Of the figure on the right practically only the original rough outline remains. The subject may be Polyxena ordered by Odysseus to prepare to offer herself on the Tomb of Achilles, whose wife she will become in the Elysian fields.⁶⁸

B 6.—Eros running.

The running Erotes (of which this is the fourth) that divide certain of the panels, allude to the Divine Love (cf. Eros in the apse) and also possibly recall that Eros himself was originally none other but the Soul.

B 7.—*Reading of a divine liturgy*: two groups; on left an elderly woman sits reading from a scroll. Before her is a little girl⁶⁹ holding a garland (?) or a scroll rolled up which has already been read (?). On the right a pillar with a base on which sits a woman reading from a scroll. Looking back at her is a girl wearing a wreath and holding a thyrsus.

Cf. the group in the Villa Igem at Pompeii (*J.R.S.* iii., Pl. VIII.), and the similar, though not precisely parallel scenes among the paintings from the Farnesina and other wall paintings (Reinach, *R.P.*, pp. 118–119). The scene recalls how Demosthenes when taunting Aeschines with having, after he had already attained man's estate, assisted his mother in mystical initiations, refers to his reading of the ritual books: ἀνὴρ δὲ γυνόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι τὰς βίβλους ἀεργήσας (Dem., *De Corona*, 313 = 259, 13).⁷⁰

The figure with the thyrsus is probably the initiate. These reading of initiation-liturgies contrast with the picture of the non-initiate (Dannides) on the opposite side.

V. STUCCOES OF WALLS AND PILLARS

We now pass to the decoration of the walls, which is continuous round the basilica, to that of the pillars and to other decorative details common to nave and aisles.

(a) *The Sacred Groves*

Above a plain dado the walls are divided into upright panels occupying about three-fifths of the height. There are twenty-eight of these panels. A tiny landscape on a well-defined ground-line is represented in each; its characteristic features are the sacred tree and pillar within a walled enclosure, leaning against which in most cases is a Priapic herm; in some a statue takes the place of the pillar (i.e. the bacylean divinity is anthropomorphised), and human figures are at times introduced.

In the following description the numbers are taken from left to right, beginning with the panel left of the entrance as the spectator comes into the basilica. The more important and better preserved have been published by Hubaux in *Musée Belge*, 1923.

⁶⁸ Cf. Seneca, *Tristia*, 942.97:—

Polyxena miseranda, quae tradit sibi
Cinereoque Achilles onto mactari sumum
Campa maritus ut sit Elysii miles.

⁶⁹ Cf. painting of same subject, *Ras.* *Mus.*, 1890, p. 333.

⁷⁰ The passage noted in this connexion by Reinach, *op. cit.*, is of extraordinary importance for the ritual of the mysteries. Cf. Fouzari, *Les associations religieuses*, p. 67.

1. *Between entrance and side wall*: Besides the tree and pillar, which is of baetylos form,⁸⁶ there is a statue of a goddess. The enclosure is of semi-circular or horseshoe shape with windows. This is the type most frequently found in these panels. Through the windows a woman is drawing a garland. A Priapic herm leans against one of the ends of the wall (Fig. 16; Hubaux, Fig. 13).—2. A statue of a goddess holding a long flail (†) takes the place of the sacred pillar and stands before the tree on a three-stepped basis round which



FIG. 16.—SACRED ENCLOSURE.

is a garland; on the right a herm; on the lowest step a woman kneels,⁸⁷ left, holding out her hands in supplication. No enclosing wall (Hubaux, Fig. 14).—3, 4, and 5. *Side wall*: all very much effaced, but the tree, pillar and enclosing wall can be distinguished.—6. The enclosure is of unusual form, three columns supporting a three-sided architrave.⁸⁸—7. A colonnade leads

⁸⁶ Cf. painting from 'house of Livia' in the Palatine. Rostowzew (*Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, Fig. 2), and cf. Fig. 21 (= Naples, 9413) and Hellenistic relief in Palazzo Colonna at Rome (Schreiber, Pl. XV.).

⁸⁷ The act of kneeling in ritual had

hitherto been only established for the Mithraic religion (Cumont, *Traité de monuments*, etc., ii, p. 62).

⁸⁸ Cf. Farnesina structure; Rostowzew, Fig. 13, and fragment of a Hellenistic relief at Berlin (Schreiber, Pl. LXVIII.).

up to the characteristic group of pillar, tree and wall.³⁹ A thyrsus leans against the enclosure.—8. The usual features are present: a rectangular object (votive tablet?) lies to the right against the wall; on it a figure appears to be drawn. To the left is a Priapic (?) herm and a garland runs round the foot of the balustrade (Hubaux, Fig. 12).—9, 10, and 11 are lost.—12 is much damaged, but seems of the usual type.—13. *End wall to left of apse*: left of tree, in place of pillar, a statue of Artemis. To the left a dog; to the right a stag. No enclosing wall (Hubaux, Fig. 15).—14. Of the usual type. A pedum against the wall, but no herm (Hubaux, Fig. 11).—15. *End wall, right of apse*: pillar characterised as a Corinthian column.—16-20. *Side wall of right aisle*, are either lost or too much damaged to be recognisable. All this side is in worse condition than the other.—21. Usual type.—22. Much effaced. 23. The few traces left show a statue of a god, Priapus.—24-26. Much damaged.—27. To right of the enclosure, altar with woman leaning over it.⁴⁰—28. Two enclosures are represented; in the larger (left), a pillar surmounted by an amphora, and a tree; in a smaller circular enclosure is a cypress tree.

Many of the pillars seen within the enclosures have epithemata in the shape of disks or egg-shaped objects, amphorae or tympana. The sacred character of these scenes is obvious. They can be paralleled in wall paintings from Pompeii⁴¹ and at Rome in the famous yellow frieze in the House of Livia which appears to represent stretches of a road bordered with tombs and people travelling along it.⁴² Even closer parallels may be found in the stucco ceiling decorations (Terme)⁴³ from the Farnesina. As to the nature of these sacred precincts or groves (*recinti sacri*), the general opinion is that they are tombs or symbols of tombs. Small landscape scenes not unlike these occur in the stucco decoration of the Cabott tomb, where the funerary character is indicated by masks placed against the precinct wall, and they appear in the landscapes painted on the ceiling of the Tomb of the Aeneas. E. Pfuhl in *Jahrbuch*, xx. 1905, pp. 47 ff. shows that on grave reliefs from Eastern Greece ranging in date from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. the tomb may be represented by a pillar, herm, altar, tree, colonnade, temple façade, etc.⁴⁴ A pillar or stele was a common form of monument from earliest times, and trees were planted near graves to be a habitat for the soul if it desired a return to earth; many Roman sepulchral inscriptions also

³⁹ Cf. colonnade in Farnesina stuccoes; Holbig-Amburg, *Führer*, n. 1327; *Lessing and Mau*, Pl. XIV.

⁴⁰ Cf. Farnesina stuccoes; Guzman, *Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pl. LXXII.

⁴¹ Ruesch, *Mus. Naz. di Napoli*, n. 1478, among the 'piccoli passaggi' are a great many of this type: e.g. 9458, 9396, etc. See also Rostowzew, Fig. 20 ('Pompeii,' vii., 15, 12); Fig. 29, Figs. 15-18, etc.

⁴² Cf. Rostowzew, Pls. I. and II.; yellow frieze from House of Livia; also paintings from columbarium of Villa Doris-Pamphili, J.H.S.—VOL. XLIV.

now at Museo d. Terme, E. Samter, *Röm. Mus.*, 1893, pp. 105-141, and Rostowzew, Figs. 6-8.

⁴³ Paribesi, *Terme di Diocleziano*, pp. 451-456; Holbig-Amburg, *ib.*, pp. 1327-1332 (with pl.); Guzman, *Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pls. LXXII, LXXIII.

⁴⁴ Pfuhl also discusses the different kinds of epithemata; for the use of tympana as sepulchral offerings he compares *Anth. Pal.*, vii. 483.

Βάλλειν τὰς τήρας κατὰ ἑξῆς καὶ τὰ στήλην τήρας ἐπὶ στήλῃ θέσθαι Ἀπολλοῖου.

mention horti or a locus in connexion with the grave.⁹⁵ The herm⁹⁶ of Priapus represented in all our landscapes may be placed here as guardian of the tomb,⁹⁷ a function which developed no doubt from the uses of his statues to protect secular gardens. As to the 'recinti' with statues, it was a common practice among the Romans to erect a statue of a god or goddess over a grave,⁹⁸ an idea that easily follows from anthropomorphising the pillar. In later times they went further and set up statues of the dead, in the guise of well-known deities.⁹⁹ For instance Statius (*Silvae*, v. l. 231 f.) when describing the tomb of Priscilla on the Via Appia says of her reclining portrait effigy:

.... . mox in varias mutata novaris
effigies: hoc aere Ceres, hoc lucida Cnosis,
illo Maia tholo, Venus hoc non improba saxo
accipiunt vultus haud indignata deoors
numina.¹⁰⁰

The Priapic herms, thyrsi and tympana recall the Bacchic cult which was so intimately connected with the dead. From their presence and the representation of women praying or decking the tombs, it is evident that care for the dead formed part of the religious observance of those who worshipped in the basilica, and we have already noted two scenes at tombs on the friezes of the side aisles. These exquisite sepulchral landscapes, which are closely akin to the landscapes of religious character (*Sakrallandschaften*), studied by Rostovtseff, are continued round the atrium (p. 72) and enclose the building as it were within a ring of protecting presences. Bendinelli (p. 28) is doubtless right in seeing here pictures of real tombs.¹⁰¹ The tombs, we may surmise, were of distinguished or specially venerated members of the collegium or fraternity.

The picture is completed by the objects identified as oscilla that hang above the enclosures, one in each panel. Among them are pipes, tympana, bukrania, and the Bacchic liknon. Similar objects tied on to trees are found on wall paintings and Hellenistic reliefs.¹⁰² The oscilla are repeated in the aisles, above the arches of the pillars. Since their use was purificatory,¹⁰³

⁹⁵ E.g. Dessau 8342, etc.

⁹⁶ Cf. *C.I.L.*, vi. 3708: *Costos sepulcri deus*; and cf. *C.I.L.*, v. 3634: *Priapus ego sum mortis et vitalis locus*.

⁹⁷ Cf. *C.I.L.*, ii. 6054: *Veneri sacrum in R. mem. Postumiae Marcellinae*, *C.I.L.*, vi. 30958: *D.M. Sacrum Deanae (sic) et memoriae Aeliae Proculae*, *C.I.L.*, x. 7541: *In honorem Illue*; . . . *Iunoni sacrum*.

⁹⁸ For the custom of deifying the dead, cf. Orsini 4588: *Deae dominae Rufinae Maternae ara et locus consecravit Mucronia Marcia et ei omnibus annis sacrum instituit* . . . *natall Maternae*, *C.I.L.*, vi. 15696: . . . *inter deas adorando*.

⁹⁹ For this passage we are indebted to Mr. G. McN. Rutherford; cf. also Apuleius,

Met., 8, 7: . . . *imagines defuncti quas ad habitum dei Liberi formaverat*, . . . *divinis personata humoribus*.

¹⁰⁰ Bendinelli, who has made a detailed study of the architectonic features, points out the likeness to tombs found in the excavations of Ostia, Porto and Pompeii.

¹⁰¹ Saglio-Pottier, s.v. *Oscilla*; also Boetticher, *Baukunst*, p. 323. At first the name applied only to masks of Bacchus hung on trees; cf. Servius on Virg., *Georg.*, ii. 389; *Asenid*, vi. 741, xii. 603. But later the name was applied to all kinds of other objects to which were transferred the purificatory functions of the original oscilla.

¹⁰² See the important passage in Cumont *After-Life*, p. 142.

they may be interpreted here as keeping pure the air of the tomb-sanctuaries below, and also as alluding to rites by which souls might be purified. Similarly, on certain Campana plaques,¹⁰² oscilla of lunate shape hang from the inter-columniations of a gymnasium, a place from which it was especially necessary to keep off evil or hostile spirits.

(b) The decoration of the upper part of the wall, immediately under the cornice, consists of a deep frieze, adorned alternately with ritual furniture and figures on high bases representing temple statues. This frieze is continued round the apse and above the pillars of both nave and aisles, where it is cut into by the arches to about half its height. The frieze has been carefully studied by Bendinelli (p. 34) who provides parallels for practically every object represented, and shows moreover that these objects—the statues, the ritual tables, the splendid vases—were probably copied from the furniture actually in use in the basilica.

The figures of the frieze of the nave appear to be the most important, but only three of them are at all well preserved.

Nave: the first figure on the left hand side, above the first pier, holds a thyrsus and a tympanon. The second above the central pier holds a cornucopia and a torch. On the opposite side is a much-damaged figure holding sceptra and cantharos. All are apparently female. Above the door also, always within the frieze, are two figures on plinths;¹⁰³ for the Victory in the frieze of the apse; see below.

In the left aisle the figures are all female. The first on the right-hand side (from the entrance) holds a short rod or branch; the second has a palm; the last on the left-hand side has both hands raised with palms outstretched (type of *Orans*). On this side also appears a herm (seen in profile).

In the right aisle, the second figure on the right is male. He holds a small object in his left hand. The first figure on the right stands with crossed legs, and left elbow supported on a small pillar. The last figure on the left-hand side is a heavily draped woman resting her right elbow on her left hand and her head on her right, in the well-known mourning attitude (cf. so-called 'Pudicitia').

None of the figures¹⁰⁴ seems to possess any attributes marking them as divinities. Figures like the mourning woman appear sepulchral, but those with hands outstretched in the 'Orans' attitude may, as already said, be prayers personified¹⁰⁵ and thus made permanent, and a like significance may attach to the figures with cantharos and tympanon.

Part of the ritual furniture represented in the frieze consists of large amphorae set on bases against which lean branches, torches, tympana, hoops and other ritual implements. Similar objects appear in reliefs and wall paintings,

¹⁰² Campana, *Antiche opere in Plastica*, Pls. XCV., XCVI., cf. Pls. XCIV., XCVIII.; Rohden-Winnefeldt, pp. 144 ff.

¹⁰³ The one on the left appears to be male.

¹⁰⁴ Figures similar to these—with hands raised, and standing on high plinths—appear

in a series of stucco plaques at Ny Carlsberg, Hillebrandt, lxx.

¹⁰⁵ I take these to be not merely praying figures but symbols of prayer; see G. P. Walter, *Altchristliche Liturgien; das Christliche Mysterium*, 1921, p. 161.

but, owing to the lack of any good book on ritual furniture, their use is not entirely clear. They probably represent the apparatus of initiation. The great number of amphorae seems to stress the use of water in the worship carried on in the basilica; and the importance of this will be more apparent when the subject of the relief in the apse is considered. The amphora and branch would be employed in the preliminary lustration.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the tympanon and torches belong to the orgiastic side of the ritual; the noise of the tympana¹⁰⁸ and the whirling of the torches being intended to bring on the desired state of ecstasy.

The number of *Ritual* (†) *hoops* is remarkable. They appear also on the vault and on one of the pillars of the left aisle. The hoop, which was probably of metal, has two small loose rings attached to it¹⁰⁹ that jingled as it moved. That the hoop also had a religious significance now lost is clear from its presence on various sepulchral reliefs. One of these, in the Villa Albani,¹¹⁰ shows the dead man clad in tunic and mantle surrounded by various emblems of Dionysiac character, among which is a large hoop with three small rings. This stele, long described as that of an actor or conjurer, is more likely that of the initiate of some Dionysiac cult. On a sepulchral stele at Catajo is represented a female figure draped round the lower limbs and holding by her side a hoop with two small rings and a curved hoopstick.¹¹¹ On a stucco relief in Naples,¹¹² probably likewise sepulchral, a young man who rests his hand on his head in the attitude of the Lycian Apollo, holds with his left hand a hoop and hoop-stick. The hoop has a tasselled ornament instead of the small rings. Finally, in a frieze forming part of the decoration of the Library in Castel S. Angelo (time of Paul III Farnese), with stucco reliefs of sacrifices and Bacchic dances, evidently influenced by classical models, a similar hoop appears on an altar, in allusion perhaps to the circle of eternity.

Ritual tables:¹¹³ among other ritual objects that decorate the frieze are large tables, similar in character to those already noted on the ceiling of the left aisle. These tables, which are four-legged with cross-bars, are especially conspicuous on the four end walls of the aisles. On that above panels 13 and 14 there is a crown, several small vessels and a long branch like a palm. A circular

¹⁰⁷ Cf. lustration of new-born infants Pind., *Olymp.*, l. 40; Nonn., *Dionys.*, xxv. 490; Plautus, *Amphit.*, 1102. The parallel might be intentional, as initiates were thought of as beginning a new life. The combination of vine branch and crown appears in a mosaic from Hadrian's Villa: Pfuhl, *Maleri- u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, iii., Fig. 694.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Firmicus Mat. loc. cit., *Idiarum cantu et cyndalorum timitu crepundia quibus puer decipitur fuerat mentuntur*.

¹⁰⁹ These rings were called *apices* and were added to make a pleasant sound as the hoop moved along. *Augst. ap. Grubisius, Iarua, euryptyl.*, vi. 26. *Arceol apici respuisus*. Cf. Martini, xiv. 168-169. For use with

a religious meaning, cf. statuette of Zeus (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, p. 289, Fig. 209) wearing hoop with nine S-shaped pendants.

¹¹⁰ Reinach, *R. E.*, iii. 153; Alinari phot. 27540.

¹¹¹ Dutschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Oberitalien*, v., p. 161, n. 102; *Saglia*, Fig. 7101.

¹¹² Ruesch, *Mus. Naz. di Napoli*, p. 394, and 1827, n. 4578. The figure is probably not that of an athlete. The attitude, generally associated with Apollo or Dionysus, suggests that the dead boy has been deified.

¹¹³ Note that in the restricted space of the frieze above the arches, oscilla take the place of the ritual tables and urns.

object (tympanon?) lies to the left of the table. Above panels 27 and 28 is a table bearing a large amphora and a crown. The other tables are similar, usually carrying an oenochoe and several phialae, a crown and a branch.

Oenochoae and phialae suggest a libation ceremony (cf. the priestess at a table in a painting from the Triclinium of the Villa Itern at Pompeii).¹¹⁵ The crown is probably that worn by the priest during the ceremonial; the palm was lustral or else intended to be carried in procession; or crown and palm symbolise the victory of the soul over death, just as a crown and palm were given to victors in athletic contests.

The ritual furniture of the frieze is in fact inspired by that of the palaestra, for religion is itself a training-ground for a spiritual conflict: the tables laden with crowns and fillets, the water for lustration, the palms for the victors, the commemorative statues are all in place here, though the statues are not those of athletes in the games but impersonate the prayers put up by the Soul in her need, or the Victories who bestow upon her the crown and the palm.¹¹⁶

(c) Stuccoes of the Pillars

The pillars below the frieze were likewise covered with reliefs, now mostly lost. In the nave only one of these survives on the central pillar to left. It represents *Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides*. A Hesperid, veiled and holding the apples on a tray, stands before the seated hero.¹¹⁷ The garden of the Hesperides, as Rayet has pointed out (*Hercule Fendraitre*, p. 223), was an image of the Isles of the Blessed, and the journey of Heracles in quest of the golden apple (like that of Jason to Colchis or of Theseus to Crete), was a clear symbol of the soul's voyage to the other world.¹¹⁸

On the same pillar, facing the left aisle, we have *Demeter and Triptolemus*: Bendinelli justly observes that the subject has an evident chthonian character.¹¹⁹ But Triptolemus is not only a divinity of the underworld; he also stands for the spring and for resurrection, and he is probably represented here in allusion to all his functions. The myth of Demeter and Triptolemus was popular under Claudius, who, on a cameo in Paris appears in the guise of Triptolemus with Messalina at his side as Demeter,¹²⁰ and as Triptolemus alone on the Vienna silver patera: so that the present scene, like the four figures of Attis of the central nave (p. 76), point to the basilica being of Claudian date.

¹¹⁵ *J.R.S.*, III, PL IX.; *Rizzo, Dionysus Mystes*, PL II.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Cumont, *After-Life in Roman Paganism*, p. 119, for actions transferred from the palaestra to ritual.

¹¹⁷ For the composition see relief in Villa Albani, Reinach, *R. R.*, 128, 3 (W. Ameling, *Herakles bei den Hesperiden*, such *Winkelmannsprogramm*, 1923), and cf. the so-called 'Heracles and Hebe' of another Albani relief, Reinach, *R. R.*, 139, 3. It is unusual to represent Heracles seated, as in our stucco, on a stool.

¹¹⁸ This is the subject of the central group of the fine sarcophagus in the Brit. Mus. (Cat. No. 2300), where it probably stands for the hero's own apotheosis. For the Hesperides see also Rayet, p. 235.

¹¹⁹ Bendinelli, p. 23. Cf. Skyphos of Bosonian Iobels; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. I, Fig. 165, p. 224. Demeter hands ears of corn to Triptolemus who is holding a plough; as in our relief, the winged ear is absent.

¹²⁰ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, p. 228, Fig. 167.

Below, *Hera and hoop and hanging ivy*: ritual objects of character similar to those already noted:

On a pillar of the *right aisle* we see a *Satyr with a wine skin* (1) *by a sacred tree* (1); cf. the reliefs of Satyrs with amphoras in the vestibule (p. 72).¹²⁰

The inner sides of the pillars are adorned with palmettes, candelabra, and Dionysiac masks with bull's ears and horns.

Portrait heads in square frames, three of which are fairly preserved, appear below the subject panels on the pillars of both nave and aisles. They afford an earlier instance of a series of portrait heads comparable to the portrait medallions that adorn the family tomb on the relief of the Haterii¹²¹ or to those supported by Victories in a third-century hypogeum near Palmyra (Strzygowski: *Orient oder Rom.*, Pl. I.). The neck is represented as far as the collar bone only, as in the portraiture of the Augustan period. The type with thick lips is thought to be oriental,¹²² and the heads may be those of sages or apostles held in special veneration by the votaries of the basilica. There were twelve portraits in all, a significant number.

(d) *Figures of Victories*

Besides those of the ceiling of the nave, winged figures, with arms outstretched and crowns in each hand, appear in the lunettes above the ritual tables of the frieze, at the ends of the aisles. Others are represented on the soffit of the arches and on the sides of the pillars. We have already referred to the Victory in the frieze, below the large composition of the apse. This figure, copied, it is thought, from the statue of Victory in the Curia Julia, is turned in profile to the left, holding in one hand a crown, in the other a palm, between two figures of the *Orans* type. Like the other figures of the frieze, all three stand on high pedestals. Good examples of Victories may be seen among the wall paintings of the pyramid of Cestius¹²³; at the entrance of a tomb near Gabii, with the apotheosis of Heracles¹²⁴; on the ceiling of the Cabott tomb, etc. On the still unpublished stuccoes in the British Museum that come from a columbarium, Victories sit in graceful pairs, one on each side of the loculi, as though guarding the dead. We should also note the lovely palm-bearing Victories within the upright panels of the stucco plaque in the Louvre, already referred to for its Eroses. The palms suggest that the triumph over the powers of evil and of death is conceived as a sort of Olympic Victory.

¹²⁰ On the luxuriant style of Satyrs and Sileni see Bayet, *Hercule Funéraire*, pp. 122, 150, 162.

¹²¹ In the Lateran: Guzman, *Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pl. XXVII.

¹²² But see Bagnani, *J.R.S.* 1919, pp. 311.

¹²³ Lugli in *Enc. d. Architettura e Arti Decorative*, I. 1921, p. 259, Fig. 23 (Victory with crown and garland).

¹²⁴ Ashby, *P.B.S.R.*, I. 1902, p. 179, Fig. 6 (Victory with garland).

V. THE SUBJECT OF THE APSE STUCCO INTERPRETED AS A SCENE OF
'APOTHEOSIS BY WATER' 124a

The composition which fills the upper part of the apse has been left to the last because, as in a Christian basilica, it sums up and gives final expression to the rest of the decoration (Pl. IV). A stormy sea beats below two rocky promontories. That on the right is crowned by a grove of trees; in front of these an Eros gently pushes forward a heavily veiled woman who, holding a lyre, is in the act of descending with leisurely and stately gait from the rock into the sea where a Triton holds a sheet folded boat-shape, in readiness to receive her. A second Triton turns towards this group blowing his horn. In mid distance, on a third lofty promontory of rock, is seen the image of Apollo holding out his hand as if to welcome the veiled lady. On the promontory on the left a male figure sits in an attitude of deep dejection.

From the first this scene was interpreted by Fornari¹²⁵ and others as the Soul's voyage to the Isles of the Blest, a development of the idea already suggested symbolically by the Ocean mask over the entrance. In a first paper on the subject M. Cumont,¹²⁶ who believes that the basilica was actually the secret meeting-place of a Pythagorean sect, explained the apse picture as an allegory of the fate of the Soul, a sort of Last Judgment in which, according to lost Pythagorean doctrines, the soul destined to salvation—typified by the veiled woman with the seven-stringed lyre—was conveyed to the Isles of the Blest, while the figure seated in dejection on the left stood for the soul of the sinner doomed to eternal separation from the god. In apparent contrast to this exalted mysticism, Professor C. Densmore Curtis¹²⁷ next interpreted the relief as 'Sappho's leap from the Leucadian rock,' conceived according to the Ovidian version (*Heroides*, xv. 189). In a second article,¹²⁸ M. Cumont, while remarking that so unedifying a myth seemed little suited to occupy the place of honour in the midst of subjects which reflect lofty religious conceptions, yet shows that Curtis's theory might be reconciled with his own. In this attempted compromise M. Cumont gave proof of his usual prescience, since the definite proof of a connexion between the story of Sappho and Phaon and the Pythagoreans was to be found by M. J. Carcopino in a passage of Pliny.¹²⁹ Pliny, after describing how certain plants have the property of love-spells, adds that this was the cause of Sappho's passion for Phaon, and that on this subject the Magi and also the Pythagoreans have a great deal that is strange to tell; *ex hoc et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho: multa circa hoc non magorum solum vinitate sed etiam Pythagoricorum* (*Nat. Hist.*, xxii. 8, 9, 20). It is true that Pliny says nothing about the death or leap of Sappho, nothing

^{125a} For the first suggestion that the apse scene might imply 'Apotheosis by water,' I am indebted to Prof. Stuart-Jones. The following pages save for the modifications necessitated by M. Carcopino's discovery of the Plinian text relating to Sappho and the Pythagoreans, are a literal translation of the paper read before the Pontifical Academy in 1922.

¹²⁵ *Not. d. Scavi*, 1913, pp. 39 ff.

¹²⁶ *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, pp. 52 ff.

¹²⁷ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, xxiv. 1920, pp. 145 ff.

¹²⁸ *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1921, pp. 28-29.

¹²⁹ *Rev. Arch.*, xviii. 1923, pp. 1-23 (see p. 20 for the light the new Plinian text throws on the suspicious superstitions for which Statilius Taurus was condemned).

therefore bearing on the subject of the apse stucco, yet we may now reasonably assume that the whole Sappho legend entered into Pythagorean lore, and that M. Carcopino by this timely discovery has disposed of any doubt as to the Pythagorean character of the basilica, or as to Sappho's leap being the subject of the apse stucco.

It is so entirely in the spirit of the rest of the iconography to wrap religious doctrine in the veils of mythology, that the notion of a myth being represented in the apse also has obviously much in its favour. There are difficulties, however, in accepting the subject as Sappho's Leap. In the first place the veiled figure neither leaps nor plunges, but descends into the water with stately gait,^{122a} not with the action of one who feels only despair: *quidquid erit melius quam nunc erit*; in the second place the Eros of the apse in no sense supports her on his wings as she falls (*pennis suppose cadenti*), but urges or pushes her quietly forward; and thirdly, while the Ovidian story provides no explanation of the Triton, the stucco omits Phaon. It is true that the pensive figure on the left has been identified as Sappho's lover, but Phaon, at best an unsympathetic personage, becomes simply ridiculous when thought of as gazing mournfully at his victim. Yet the theory put forward by Curtis had one great merit: it emphasised the act of entering the water as of paramount significance in the picture. It is curious that the American scholar, having once perceived this, should have fixed upon Sappho's Leucadian Leap without remembering that many mortals, especially women, obtained apotheosis—that is became goddesses—by leaping from a rock, the Leucadian or another. Thus, Ino-Leucothea,^{122b} thus also the Cretan heroine Britomartis,¹²³ and let us add Sappho herself; not, however, the Sappho of late mythology, who throws herself into the sea with the vulgar idea of escaping from the pains of unrequited love, but the nobler heroine of the more primitive version who, as Usener pointed out long ago,¹²³ courts a premature death in the Leucadian waters to attain more quickly to immortality. In this version of the story Phaon the lover is the bright or shining one, none other than Apollo himself, with whom he appears not infrequently associated in art;¹²⁴ Apollo who welcomes Sappho to the mystic espousals with himself, even as on our stucco he welcomes the veiled woman; of the identity of Phaon with Apollo, even Ovid has retained a trace in the line:

Et forma et meritis tu mihi Phoebus eris.

Thus disengaged of its later, decadent elements, the story might well become symbolic of an act of ritual prelude to the journey of the Soul to the Isles of the Blest, and confirming the Initiate's right to Immortality.

^{122a} Prof. Halkin of Liège, whom I met accidentally in the basilica, points out to me that only the curve of the apse makes the so-called Sappho appear to bend forward. Looked at from the opposite side and close to, the figure is seen to be perfectly vertical, and to be descending quietly by the help of three ledges cut in the rock.

^{122b} Od., xiv, 11.

¹²³ Glotz, *L'Oréalisme dans la Grèce primitive*, pp. 40 ff. and *passim*.

¹²⁴ Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 328: 'Phaon is the ferryman who carries the Souls across the Ocean to the *Lichtland* of the gods.' Cf. his *Sintfatsungen*, p. 101 and *passim*.

¹²⁵ See now Carcopino in *Rev. Arch.*, xviii, 1923, p. 19, note 3.

The Lœucadian rock, to which the story of Sappho was to become so closely linked, was itself originally merely one of the numerous *leukades petrai* that existed in various parts of Greece, where they were held to mark the entrance to Hades and the limit where the realm of the dead began. This is not the place in which to enlarge upon the various theories put forward by Usener,¹²² by Dieterich,¹²³ by Glotz,¹²⁴ by Frazer,¹²⁵ A. B. Cook¹²⁷ and others, or to attempt to show in detail how the leap, originally a test of guilt and of innocence, came to symbolise spiritual regeneration. It is enough to recall that the scene of the fatal leap was in point of fact the duplicate of the distant white rock where dwell the colourless shadows of the dead; and that death from the rock represents, as Dieterich saw long ago, an attempt to attach to a definite spot the old idea of death by springing into the water. Long before the Lœucadian leap became the scene of Sappho's death, it was the place where every year, at the festival of Apollo, criminals were thrown into the sea, when boats were at hand full of men who tried to catch the unfortunates as they fell. Evidently the stress here was on the ordeal, and death only followed if this were not successful (Strabo 452).

The further detail that in order to lighten their fall feathers and even live birds were tied to the men seems to suggest that in the beginning the ordeal was in reality by air,¹²⁸ and that final regeneration and salvation were by means of water.

A vivid commentary on the passage in Strabo may be seen in a wall painting of the inner chamber of the Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca in Corneto, where among other river scenes is one of diving.¹²⁹ It shows figures climbing up a rock and plunging head first into the river, while three men in a boat make excited gestures as they watch the leap (Fig. 17). The beauty of the fresco can only be fully appreciated if the three walls of the tomb are studied together: the whole air is alive with unseen presences, the river flows as through a pale land of ghosts, and the wild fluttering of the birds overhead intensifies the sense of mystery. Our purpose here, however, is to point to the analogy between Strabo's description and the scene depicted here, which becomes even closer if we can believe with Brizio, who opened the tomb and first described its paintings, that a net thrown by the boatmen was actually visible at that time.¹³⁰ The function of the net is clearly to catch the men and rescue them; so, too, when the Cretan Britomartis throws herself from the fatal rock, she

¹²² See *Sinkstücken*, p. 27 ff.

¹²³ Dieterich: *Nekula*, p. 215.

¹²⁴ *L'Oréalie*, pp. 15, 34, and *passim*.

¹²⁵ *Golden Bough*, new vol. 61, p. 579.

¹²⁷ *Zeus*, p. 345.

¹²⁸ Cf. Cumont, *After-Life in Roman Paganism*, p. 185. I regret that a paper on the subject by S. Etrem, noted in the *Time's* work for *Classical Studies*, 1923, p. 52, has not been accessible to me. Another trace of purification by air seems to have survived in the story of Timagoras and Metes told by Pausanias, I. 30, 1, in

which S. Reinach, *Culte*, II, pp. 201 f., justly sees a counterpart to the story of the Lovers' Leap. But the two cocks placed in the arms of the statue that commemorated the event recall the feathers and birds tied to Strabo's criminals (also observed by Hubaux, p. 32, who sees a further allusion to the feathers in Ovid's *pernice ruppente cadenti*).

¹²⁹ Woegn, *Strukturelle Motive*, p. 34 and Figs. 58-60.

¹³⁰ Brizio, *Bullatino*, 1873, p. 82.

is brought back to the surface of the waters by nets spread in advance. According to Miss M. Heinemann¹⁴¹ the scene of diving in the Tomba della Caccia is introduced as a symbol of purification—an opinion so sound that even the somewhat sharp criticism of Wilamowitz¹⁴² does not, I think, invalidate it. That the scene here has a mystical meaning cannot be reasonably doubted if we note that in the lunette above another of the frescoes is represented the banquet of the Apotheosis. The birds, moreover, are evidently souls. Their fluttering and the men's leap through the air almost illustrate, as it were, an older belief in purification by air, while, as so often in Roman sepulchral art, the plunging dolphins are clear symbols of the saving power of water.¹⁴³ It seems almost incredible that an older school of archaeologists



FIG. 17.—ETRUSCAN WALL PAINTING AT CUNEO.

should have only seen here 'une promenade en bateau ou une baignade.'¹⁴⁴ An idea of purification is likewise latent in Sappho's Leucadian Leap. According to Welcker, who first set himself the task of rehabilitating the poetess, her death is only a later and more specialised version of the Leucadian Leap of Aphrodite, who throws herself from the fatal rock to rid herself of her passion for Phaon-Adonis.¹⁴⁵ But this forgetfulness of pain which the waters bring, what is it but purification from the stains of passion and of sin! Even Ovid retains some traces of this belief when he makes the fountain Naiad thus address the passion-tossed poetess:—

¹⁴¹ M. Heinemann, *Landchaftliche Elemente in der Griechischen Kunst*, p. 48.

¹⁴² *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 26.

¹⁴³ Examples are innumerable; sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum, Gracianen; *St. Maria Antiqua*, p. 78, Fig. 50a; pediment of sepulchral stela in Louvre, Alluani, 22725; a scene so far unexplained from a vase in Athens (Reinach, *R. V.*, p. 415; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung der*

Griechen, iii., Fig. 281) may also be one of ordeal by water (man held by a rope plunging into the sea, dolphins, etc.), and we would suggest the possibility of a like explanation for the enigmatic relief in the B.M., *Cat. of Greek Sculpt.*, 2308, Pl. XXVIII.

¹⁴⁴ Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, p. 406.

¹⁴⁵ Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, ii., p. 80.

* *Hanc legem locus ille tenet, peto protinus altam*
 * *Leucada nec saxo desiluisse time!*

And Sappho herself seems aware of the purificatory nature of the waters in her prayer:—

Nor let a lover's death the guiltless flood profane.—(Pope's transl.)

Seeing, however, that a doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works is at the root of all ancient mystery-religions, the scene of the apse was not, I take it, intended to stress the ordeal as a test of guilt or innocence, so much as to emphasise the right to immortality of those who passed through it unscathed. In his admirable essay Glotz has shown the near connexion of the two ideas in the myths of the women who throw themselves into the sea to prove their innocence, and thereby obtained immortality, and in those myths in which mothers (Danaë, etc.) were exposed to the mercy of the sea with their new-born babes—the child afterwards becoming immortal, or else, by escaping death, proving his divine descent: ⁴⁴⁶

'Poseidon n'aura qu'à garder sa victime, s'il veut, ou qu'à laisser l'esquif s'en aller à la dérive dans les parages où vont les esquifs des morts. Que si, au contraire, il renonce à l'âme qui lui est vouée, l'enfant sauvé des eaux ou la femme justifiée portera toujours la marque d'une consécration divine' (Glotz, p. 25).

Of peculiar importance in its bearing upon the subject of our apse is the ordeal whereby Theseus, when on his way to Crete, proved himself the son of Poseidon. The story, which is familiar from the lovely kylix in the Louvre signed by Euphronios ⁴⁴⁷ and from the poem of Bacchylides (xvii.), is, as Glotz remarks, '*un exemple particulièrement remarquable d'ordalie*.' All notion of a test of innocence is banished, and Theseus descends into the depths of the sea to claim from its sovereign rulers the kingly mantle or ring or wreath—the exact object is unimportant—which is to be the pledge of his divine origin. The Louvre kylix, which shows Theseus in the presence, not of Poseidon, but of Poseidon's spouse Amphitrite, who holds out the wreath to the hero, is of special importance as showing Theseus supported on the two hands of a Triton, evidently here, as on the apse, vehicle of transit and of salvation. Athena stands by—not so much, I think, to protect her hero, as to indicate that he is now admitted among the immortals; her rôle here is that of Apollo in the apse picture.

Another point in the legend of Theseus as told by Bacchylides throws light on the ample drapery folded boat-shape which the Triton holds ready to catch the veiled lady. From the poet we hear that Amphitrite wrapped Theseus in a purple veil, just as Danaë wrapped Perseus in a veil of the same

⁴⁴⁶ Carcopino (*Vierge et les Origines d'Ostie*, p. 110) shows that the story of the Vestal Tuccia, who in order to prove her innocence brought back Tiber water in a sieve, conceals an old ordeal of the Vestals by the water of the Tiber; according

to the same scholar we have the further trace of an ordeal by water in the story of the exposure of the twins Remus and Rhea by their mother, the Vestal Rhea Sylvia.

⁴⁴⁷ Pfuhl, III., Fig. 127.

colour when she laid him in the chest.¹²⁸ Though the stress in these stories is on purple as being the royal colour,¹²⁹ there can be little doubt that the veils in themselves were originally a medium of immortality (Diod. Sic., iv. 40, p. 346). One more scene of a leap seems to suggest that ordeal by water might, like baptism itself, be imposed also on infants. It occurs on the reverse of a fine medallion of the younger Faustina,¹³⁰ where Eros, accompanied by a number of little love-gods, and in presence of Aphrodite, springs from a high pillar into the water, no doubt in order to prove his divinity. Later the episode was transformed into a pure scene of genre in two wall paintings of the Villa Negroni,¹³¹ where the 'Loves' disport themselves in the water in presence of Aphrodite and a nymph.

These examples offer a peculiar interest because in them we have the root idea of baptism, considered even by pagans, not only as an act of purification, but as a first step towards immortality and as token of a divine sonship. In the same way Thetis plunges the little Achilles into the water (later it was said into the waters of Styx) to render him immortal.

Closely connected with scenes of ordeal of water are the various rites of lustration: mythological baths of goddesses to recover their virginity (Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite): ritual baths of their images in commemoration of the bath of the goddess—(cf. bath of the image of the Magna Mater in the river Almo)—a series to which, according to a recent theory, the central scene of the 'Ludovisi Throne' very probably belongs. The extensive theme of ritual lustration would carry us too far beyond our immediate subject. Enough has been said to justify the assumption that the right-hand group of our apse stucco represents the initial act of such a ritual—the figure, fully draped, like the figure of the Ludovisi Throne, descends into the water, gently pushed by an Eros whose action is the counterpart of that of the Eros who receives Aphrodite as she rises from the ritual bath, on the vase painting at Genoa.¹³² The veiled lady—image here of the Soul—carries the lyre, not necessarily because she is a poetess and Sappho, but for the same reason that innumerable figures are shown with a lyre on white Attic *lekythoi* and on *stelai*, where already in the fifth century B.C. its significance was that of participation in the Choir of the Blessed.¹³³ A similar meaning attaches to the lyre held by primitive or archaic figurines in terra-cotta found in tombs, and in the Cabott tomb Eros holds it as symbol of apotheosis. Our veiled lady likewise carries the lyre in sign of salvation, as she comes down from the rocky promontory where the grove of trees may, according to a suggestion of Leopold, mark the site of her grave. And because she has been initiated she faces without fear the ordeal before her, certain that, assisted by Love and received by the Triton, she will sail in all safety to the islands where the god of light awaits her. Her veil swells like a sail, and the support it affords recalls the feathers or the live birds tied to the victims in the old Leucadian ordeal. Who knows but that some trace of a primitive purification by air lingers also in this scene!

¹²⁸ Simonides, ed. Bergk. 4, iii. pp. 404 ff.

¹²⁹ Glotz, p. 116.

¹³⁰ Guccini, *Med. Rom.*, ii., Pl. LXVIII. 1 (medallion of Faustina), and et. Pl. LXXVI. 3 (medallion of Lucilla).

¹³¹ C. Bui, *Pittura Antiche della Villa Negroni* (1778), Pls. I. and III. = *Röm. Mus.*, xxxiv. 1919, Pl. I. 2 (Krieger).

¹³² *Röm. Mus.*, 1899, Pl. VII. p. 154.

¹³³ Delattre, *Rev. Arch.*, 1912, pp. 318 ff.

The prominence given here to Apollo, the special divinity of the Pythagoreans, goes to prove that the basilica was the seat of a Pythagorean sect. Moreover, the remark of Curtis that the god is in the attitude of the Leucadian Apollo, as we know it from coins, seems to confirm the Sappho theory, and, in the light of M. Carcopino's Plinian passage, takes us back once more to the Pythagoreans (see also Lietzmann in *Jahresber.*, 1924, p. 348).

If the scene before us be mythological, it is a clear case of a myth born out of a rite, in which the rite has retained its full significance. That is why when exclusive stress is laid on the story of Sappho—especially in its later version—one feels inclined to repudiate the whole interpretation, and to see in the composition of the apse only the picture of a ritual lustration.¹³⁴

Admitting, however, that the story of Sappho's Leap—conceived according to a nobler version than the Ovidian—can be made to fit the action of the veiled figure on the right, it remains a fact that no myth has, so far, been discovered to explain the male figure on the left of the picture. Cumont compares him to the man who on certain Athenian stelai sits in dejection on a rock while a ship sails away.¹³⁵ These stelai, formerly explained as those of mariners who had been shipwrecked and lost their ships, have been shown by Usener to be capable of another and more logical explanation. His words are worth quoting in full:—¹³⁶

... in saxo sedentem paratamque navim, quas ex vita cum trans Oceanum ferat. Saxum illic non temere indicatur; est enim id, unde vitam beatam petitori in Oceanum se deiciunt, leucadium vulgo dixere.

The men figured on the stelai, having died a violent death, would lack due burial rites, i.e. due initiation, and could therefore not participate in the eternal beatitudes. Thus also the pensive figure of the apse must be the uninitiate to whom the Isles of the Blest are inaccessible. The punishment that attends neglect of the holy mysteries is once again stressed in this figure, whose unhappy lot is in sharp contrast to the bliss of the initiate soul. The whole scene of the apse is thus, according to Cumont, one of Last Judgment, and the lessons it was intended to convey were possibly the subject of long lost Pythagorean liturgies.¹³⁷

Just as the scenes of nave and aisles mostly belong to a familiar series of subjects that interpret mythologically after the fashion of the time the preparation of the Soul for death and its ultramundane experiences, so parallels may also be found for those ideas of ordeal or of Last Judgment conveyed in the apse picture. In the well-known tomb of the Anicii on the Via Latina (so familiar and yet still awaiting publication), the most important of the four friezes, facing the entrance, represents the *Judgment of Paris*, symbol of the Last Judgment, as no one can doubt who remembers that the story of Alceatis (Release from Hades) is represented on the right frieze; that the Apotheosis of Heracles (the Soul's redemption) appears on the left, while above the door Priam before Achilles stands for appeal to the Divine Mercy. In the tomb of the

¹³⁴ See E. Strong, Letter to *The Times*, Aug. 25, 1922.

¹³⁵ *Revue d'Art*, 1921, p. 29.

¹³⁶ Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. p. 463;

see now Cumont, *After-Life in Roman Paganism*, whole of ch. v.

¹³⁷ *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, pp. 10 ff.

Valerii on the other side of the way, the spectator is faced as he enters with the group of the three Seasons, whose swift revolutions recall the rapid flight of time and the approach of the last things.

At other times, a scene of Redemption or of Apotheosis is placed over the entrance (tomb of the Nasonii: *Return of Eurydice* (1) ¹⁵⁸; tomb near Gabii: *Apotheosis of Hercules*). In the lunette of a tomb near Palmyra, ¹⁵⁹ facing the entrance, is painted the subject so popular on sarcophagi of *Achilles in Scyros*, or 'the choice of Achilles.' But what is this history of choice between a life of pleasure and a life of duty but an ordeal by which the valiancy of the hero is put to the test, as a first step towards the attainment of immortality. It is difficult to understand how scholars of the calibre of Strzygowski and the late Francesco Formari ¹⁶⁰ have failed to see in these late adaptations of the myth to sepulchral purposes anything beyond a 'purely decorative scheme.' Very striking in the present connexion is the lunette of an arcosolium of the family tomb of Vincentius, where we see Vibia introduced by her *Angelus Bonus* into the presence of the Blessed who are inscribed as *Beatorum iudicio iudicati*, so that reminiscences of a Judgment mingle here with a scene of Apotheosis. It would be easy to multiply examples, for nearly every tomb provides them.

Enough has been said to show that the much-disputed scene of the apse enters as readily as the rest of the stuccoes into a familiar cycle of subjects chosen to illustrate ideas of an eschatological nature. The mystery religions drew freely from this cycle, since it was their main function to offer salvation to the faithful by procuring assurance of a life to come and a victorious immortality. If a Pythagorean brotherhood is to be held responsible for the basilica—as now seems certain—the Pythagoreans merely derived their imagery from what was then a stock common alike to the mystery religions and to sepulchral art. This is all the more natural if we bear in mind that Pythagoreanism was a reformed and purer Orphism, and that by the time of the Empire all sepulchral imagery was deeply tinted with Orphic ideas. All this will be better understood when archaeologists turn their attention once more to the art of the Roman tombs and its rich after-life symbolism. These tombs were too readily forgotten in the neglect that overtook all the art of the Roman period during last century. Their paintings, if remembered at all, suffered even more than other sepulchral imagery from the deadening doctrine of the 'purely decorative,' and, though precious witnesses to beliefs of the Græco-Roman world in a future life, they were totally misinterpreted. Magnificent pioneer-work has, it is true, already been done by the late Adolf Michaelis, ¹⁶¹ by Engelmann, ¹⁶² and, above all by Dr. Ashby in his various publications of *Drawings and Ancient Paintings in English Collections* (especially those of Eton and Windsor), ¹⁶³ a piece of work which it is of the utmost importance to see continued. Dr. Bendinelli, also, has taken a further considerable step towards

¹⁵⁸ Bartoli-Bellori, *Pittura antiche del Sepolcro dei Nasonii*, Pls. IV. and V.; cf. Rodenwaldt in *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxii., 1917, p. 1 ff. For the Galai tomb see above, note 121.

¹⁵⁹ Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Pl. I.

¹⁶⁰ *Bull. Com. Arch.*, 1917, pp. 5 ff.

¹⁶¹ Michaelis, *Arch. Jahrb.*, xxv., 1910, p. 101-126; Engelmann, *Antike Bilder in Römischen Handschriften*, 1909; Ashby, *P.B.S.R.*, vii, pp. 1-62; viii, pp. 35-54.

rehabilitating this art by the use he has made of it in the article from which we have so often quoted; while Dr. Lugli has given us an admirable discussion of the paintings of certain Roman columbaria (*Rivista di Architettura*, i., 1921, p. 209). But what we need is a *Corpus* of Roman tomb paintings—of those still *in situ* and of those (more numerous, alas!), which are known now only from copies. The study of the basilica, which has already, it seems, stimulated a first revival of interest in these precious relics, may, we trust, convince scholars of the necessity of making them known again, of penetrating their meaning, and tracing the origin of their separate motives and of the characteristic groups into which symbols and subjects were combined.

It would be interesting to know whether our stuccoes themselves exerted any influence on the subsequent art of tomb chambers and initiation halls. But this question is involved with that of the fate of the hypogeum in later antiquity, and as to this little can as yet be surmised. Did the basilica fall gradually into disuse and decay with the rest of the pagan sanctuaries, or was it definitely closed—some suggest soon after its completion—in one of the conflicts of religions that began to agitate the Roman Empire as early as the first century? Both views have been put forward,¹²² and it is difficult as yet to decide between them. It will be remembered that—and this is an almost unique case—not a single small object of any kind, still less any trace of any movable work of art—was found within the building. The soil indeed was stated to have been carefully sifted, no doubt by some previous excavators, the records of whose activity have not come down to us. It may well be that the final solution of this and other problems raised by this interesting structure depends on the clearance of the soil around it, so that estrades and walls may be examined. But for the present, the inviolability of the railway envelops the basilica in a mystery more profound than any practised in the past within its walls and mirrored in the long series of its reliefs.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.
NORAH JOLLIFFE.

¹²² See especially Leopoldi, *Mittheilungen*, 1921, p. 191.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Aristotle. By W. D. Ross, M.A. Pp. vi + 300. London: Methuen, 1923. 12s. 6d.

It is difficult to speak of Mr. Ross's *Aristotle* in terms which will not seem exaggerated. Therefore it will be best to begin by saying at once all we can against the book. The author has a truly Aristotelian scorn for mere adornment. He will not attempt to 'make it interesting'; nor will he let the reader off anything he regards as important because it is obscure or abstruse. Nor will he enlarge where Aristotle has not enlarged, or pick out subsidiary points for fuller treatment because of their modern interest. He has chosen a definite line, to follow Aristotle along the path which Aristotle himself made, from the beginning to the end; and nothing will divert him. He has not too much space at his command; he therefore allows himself little by way of introduction and nothing by way of conclusion. He confines himself on the whole to the attempt to give the gist of the Aristotelian writings in their proper order—Logic, Philosophy of Nature, Biology, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics, Politics, Rhetoric, Poetics; and if he allows himself criticism, it is always short, though sometimes trenchant. Occasionally he sinks to the level of a mere abstract or table of contents. Some chapters, especially perhaps that on the *Politics* (which by reason of its accessibility justifies, as its disorder demands, a freer treatment), are somewhat dulled by their fidelity to the text. And in general, though the present writer has read the book through consecutively with pleasure, he does not wish to claim that such will be its normal fate. It is austere, close-packed, exhaustive, intended rather for reference than for amusement or edification.

So much on the negative side. The positive assets can be indicated more shortly. The account is admirably clear, excellently proportioned, and scrupulously exact. Though the author is in most passages summarising a single treatise and following Aristotle's order, yet he frequently brings passages from different treatises together in a most illuminating way, and some of his laconic footnotes (consisting almost entirely of lists of references) are masterpieces in their kind, and provide most valuable material for the student. Again, while the author (as has been said) resolutely declines side-issues and confines himself in general to the main points, he repeatedly finds opportunity to suggest in a few words an elucidation of troublesome detail; and even a specialist on a given treatise will find frequent illumination from Mr. Ross's account of it. In short, Mr. Ross has treated an immensely difficult and complicated subject like a master, and has written a book which in its own kind cannot well be superseded in our day. Not praise so much as honour (to use the Aristotelian distinction) is due to the labour and self-suppression which have gone to the making of it.

In conclusion, a few points of detail may be mentioned. (1) P. 142 and p. 146. Mr. Ross's account of 'Imagination' in the chapter on psychology (perhaps the best chapter in the book) is not quite clear. He does not explain how imagination can legitimately be said to be 'calculative.' The difficulty is an old one, and perhaps not completely soluble; but surely the distinction made by Mr. Ross on p. 142 between *phantasia* as verbal noun of *phantazein* and *phantasia* = imagination should be more insisted on. The 'calculative' φ. is a phrase implying the former sense. (2) P. 187. For the benefit of the reader ignorant of Greek, the relation between 'ethics' and 'discussions of character' needs explaining. (3) P. 213. Three types of person, says Mr. Ross, act justly according to A., viz. the statesman, the judge, the farmer or manufacturer in exchange. The first two instances seem to us to involve a *suggestio falsæ*. Justice is always thought of both by Aristotle and by Plato as existing primarily in the citizen who by his act endures and maintains the system embodied in the laws of the city, not in the judge who restores this order when disturbed. (4) P. 243. Some cursory remarks on socialism seem irrelevant to a discussion of Plato's communism. (5) P. 271, n. 1. A's conception of rhetoric is said to owe much to the definition given in the *Phaedrus*.

Surely the debt is rather to the Academy, in which no doubt rhetoric was first developed on the lines of that definition. (6) P. 296 contains a table of names and dates headed 'The Peripatetic School.' The table is not very good in itself, and if it was worth printing it was worth explaining.

J. L. S.

Die Briefe Platons. Herausgegeben von ERNST HOWALD. Pp. xi + 197. Zürich: Seldwyla, 1923.

Dr. Howald gives us a text of all thirteen letters; and for the three which he considers genuine (Ep. 6, 7, 8), he supplements this by a German translation printed opposite the text and a short commentary. There are also 45 pages of Introduction, dealing with (1) the text, (2) the question of authenticity, (3) the origin and mutual relation of Letters 7 and 8, (4) the passage in 7 concerning Plato's theory of knowledge, (5) the value of 7 for the student of Platonism.

The main point of Dr. Howald's book (beyond a general desire to advance the study of these writings, till recently neglected and now as it were surprisingly rediscovered) is to expound a theory as to the mutual relation of Ep. 7 and 8. His attention was struck by the fact that a certain portion of Ep. 7—roughly, 330d to 337—is full of innumerable verbal difficulties, anacolutha, doublets, etc. This is precisely the part which contains Plato's advice to the friends of Dion, i.e. which fulfils the ostensible purpose of the letter. Nearly all the rest is occupied with the recognised *ekphrasis* (330e) of justifying the conduct and policy of Plato himself and his friend Dion. From this observation Dr. Howald develops the theory that on receiving the news of the murder of Dion (353 B.C.) Plato set himself to compose a public manifesto justifying himself and his friend; that, when this was already complete, the request came from Dion's Sicilian friends for advice; that Plato decided to use his reply as a means for publishing this manifesto, and set about re-editing it in this sense. The advice would thus be the last portion of the letter in the order of composition. But the new edition remained a mere draft, and the letter was never sent. For before it was sent came the news of the triumph of Dion's party at Syracuse. This news gave fresh ground for hope; and instead of musing bitter memories by reviving the past, Plato decided to write a new letter containing only suggestions for the future. Ep. 7 was therefore suppressed and Ep. 8 sent instead.

This theory is interesting, and it is well and clearly expounded in the introduction. Apart from this, the student who has at hand the second volume of Wilamowitz' *Platon* and Burnet's text will not find that Dr. Howald contributes anything indispensable. Nothing of importance is added in respect of either the improvement or the elucidation of the text, and the commentary is slight, intended mainly as a supplement to the translation. The translation is vigorous and readable, but not too reliable in detail. The book is nicely printed and arranged (though the problem of keeping the German opposite the Greek has sadly baffled the printer), and the main results of recent discussion are concisely and conveniently presented. But the text rests on no new collations, and the old collations are not reported: Dr. Howald merely discriminates (rather capriciously) between a supposed original text and its variants. If Dr. Howald had given us a properly constructed critical apparatus and a fuller commentary, even at the cost of delaying publication for a few years, we should have been much more grateful. As it is, we feel that he has left the matter in all essentials where Wilamowitz left it.

J. L. S.

Platos Ideenlehre: eine Einführung in den Idealismus. Von PAUL NATORP. Pp. viii + 371. Leipzig: Meiner, 1921.

This is a second edition of Professor Natorp's well-known and influential book. The main body of the book remains just as it was published in 1902. The only chapter altered is the account of the *Sophist*, which is much expanded. But there is a 'critical supplement' of 75 pages, which is not merely a reply to critics, but also contains a good deal

of new matter. The first fifty pages of the supplement are a continuous essay entitled 'Logos-Psyché-Eros': the remainder consists of notes on particular passages.

The new additions are more supplement than criticism. Though Professor Natorp says that he would have preferred, if time and other engagements had permitted, to rewrite his book, they do not show that he has changed his views on any material point. He still regards Plato as the Greek Kant, and continues to describe the Forms as Laws or Points of View. Where his presumptions as to the temporal order of the dialogues have been successfully challenged, he assumes his arguments to be conclusive and suppresses a double edition. The most substantial new contribution is a suggestive sketch of the development of the notion of *logos* from the *Meno* to the *Republic*, which might well have been stated with more fullness and precision even at the cost of excluding some other topics. In short, while friends of Prof. Natorp's position will be glad to have this additional matter, possessors of the first edition need not feel that it has been superseded and made obsolete.

J. L. S.

Die Philosophie des Aristoteles. Von Dr. THEOD. E. ROLFFS. Pp. vii + 380. Leipzig, Meiner: 1923.

Aristoteles (1) Lehre vom Schluss oder Erste Analytik. Pp. x + 200.

(2) Lehre vom Beweis oder Zweite Analytik. Pp. xviii + 164.

(3) Politik (Dritte Auflage). Pp. xxxi + 341. Neu übersetzt von Dr. THEOD. E. ROLFFS. (Vols. 10, 11, and 7 in Meiner's *Philosophische Bibliothek*.) Leipzig: Meiner, 1922.

Aristoteles Über die Dichtkunst. Neu übersetzt von ALFRED GUDEMAN. (Vol. I in Meiner's *Phil. Bibl.*) Pp. xxiv + 91. Leipzig: Meiner, 1921.

Dr. Rolffs' general account of the philosophy of Aristotle limits itself by its sub-title to the theory of nature and the *Weltanschauung*, intentionally excluding, as the Preface explains, logic, ethics, and politics. It consists in the main of translations and paraphrases of leading passages in Aristotle's works. Section I, entitled Theory of Knowledge, is based on *De Anima*, Bks. II and III, grouping the material under three heads: (1) the external senses, (2) the internal senses (a term used without apology or explanation to cover the 'common sense,' *common sense*, and memory), (3) understanding and thought. Section II, entitled Theory of Nature, begins with an abstract of the *Physics* which occupies 100 pages. The theory of inorganic nature is then completed with the aid of the *De Caelo*, *De Generatione*, and *Meteorologica* (70 pp.). Finally, fifty pages are devoted to a survey of the works dealing with organic nature. Section III is entitled Theory of the Soul. It begins with *De Anima*, Bks. I and II, supplemented by the *Parva Naturalia*, and ends with an account of the freedom and immortality of the rational soul, based on *Nic. Eth.* III and various passages in the *De Anima* and zoological works. (This concluding subsection is short, and the important topics raised are not thoroughly discussed.) The book concludes with a fourth Section entitled Theory of God. Dr. Rolffs finds in Aristotle five proofs of the existence of God, of which only one is formally presented: this is the proof from movement given in *Metaph.* A. The other four are proofs from causation in its four Aristotelian forms. Dr. Rolffs thus secures a symmetrical scheme, but at some cost to the accurate representation of Aristotle's thought; and he seems himself to be somewhat puzzled as to the relation of the argument from efficient causation to the argument from movement. *Metaph.* A is further drawn upon for the account of the being and life of God. This leads to a discussion of the will and power of God. Dr. Rolffs contends that Aristotle, though he did not always speak clearly or correctly, did ascribe a will to God, as anyone of sound sense must, and did not content himself with a God who was merely 'the inactive end of the world.'

Dr. Rolffs is a careful and conscientious expositor of Aristotelianism on the lines of the Catholic tradition. He tries to follow faithfully in the steps of St. Thomas, and stands whole-heartedly by the realism and objectivity of Aristotle as against the 'idealism and

agnosticism * of Kant. But he has given no proof in this book of having thoroughly mastered his material in the philosophic sense, of having really thought himself into the Aristotelian position. He has indeed relied too much on paraphrase and translation to give himself a fair chance. Except in a few points, none of which are treated at sufficient length, Dr. Rolfe's book differs from a translation only by omission and compression.

Dr. Rolfe has already provided Meiner's well-known and valuable *Philosophische Bibliothek* with useful translations of parts of the *Organon*, the *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the *Politics*. The third edition of the last appears to be a reprint, with a new preface of fifteen pages emphasising the importance of the treatise. In the same series we now have new translations of the most important parts of the *Organon* (*Prior and Posterior Analytics*) to take the place of Kirchmann's versions of 1877. The change is certainly an improvement. In these versions, as in those previously published, Dr. Rolfe follows Thomas Aquinas wherever he can, and apart from him professes his chief debt to the Latin paraphrases of the Italian Jesuit Silvester Maurus (1610-1687); but here he has also made good use of Maier's *Syllagis*. He does not appear to perceive the value of the Greek commentators, though Alexander is occasionally referred to. In the regrettable absence of any trustworthy English translation, the student will find these versions a very valuable aid to the understanding of the Greek text.

Gudeman's translation of the *Poetics* replaces one of 1899 by Ueberweg. It is apparently intended chiefly for readers who know no Greek. The translator states in his preface that he has in hand a critical and expository edition of the tract for which he has prepared a new text, but is unable to give even an approximate date for its appearance. The new text, which is here translated, is stated to diverge from Vahlen's text in nearly 300 places; but the translation contains no indications of the readings adopted, and the volume differs from all others in this series that we have seen in containing no explanatory notes. Instead there are two indices, of names and of terms, which give first aid to the unlearned reader. The English reader has so many aids to the study of the *Poetics* that he does not need this version; and a reviewer may be excused for withholding judgment until text and commentary are available.

J. L. K.

Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann, No. 149). Bearbeitet von PA. BEHLER. Pp. 64. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1923.

The omissions from this book (hence its title) are enumerated in the introduction, namely, the *Alexandria Historia*, the *Oxyrhynchus Historica* (already published in this series under the name of *Cratippus*), the *Livy epitome* and the small historical fragments in the *Didymus commentary*. Otherwise the collection is complete up to and including the *Oxyrhynchus Alexander history* (P. Oxy. xv. 1798). The series closes with a hitherto unpublished fragment from Berlin (P. 13361). An index of proper names is added.

H. J. M. M.

Eroticorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Papyracea. Primus collecti recensuit Latina interpretatione ditavit verborum indices addidit BEATO LAVAGNINI. Pp. 48. Teubner, 1922.

Professor Lavagnini has followed up his well-known essay on the Origins of the Greek Romance with this convenient collection of the texts themselves. Apart from the smaller fragments we have here the considerable remains which go by the name of *Samianis* and *Ninus*, *Herpyllis*, *Metiochus* and *Parthenope*, *Chione*, and the *Dream of Nestanebo*, each item supplied with a full bibliographical introduction and a Latin translation. Perhaps a subsequent edition will include the Greek version of the *Tefnut legend* which has now become available with Reitzenstein's commentary in *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Ak. d. Wiss.* (1923).

Callimachi Fragmenta nuper Reperta. Edidit RUDOLPHUS PEIFFER. Editio Maior. Pp. 122. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber's Verlag, 1923.

Up to page 93 this edition is identical with the one published in 1921 and reviewed in *J.H.S.* XLII (1922), p. 129. The remainder of the volume is composed of the *Oxyrhynchus elegiae fragmenta* (*P. Oxy.* xv. 1793), an *index verborum*, two pages of corrigenda and a numerical table equating the present with Schneider's edition.

Strabo on the Troad. By WALTER LEAF. Pp. 352; 20 plates, 19 maps. Cambridge University Press.

Dr. Leaf is too modest in describing this edition of Strabo's chapter on the Troad as a fragment of the edition of Books XII–XIV projected by this Society before the war. It is, in fact, a model of what such an edition should be. It is preceded by a concise but delightfully lucid account of the actual geography of the region based largely on the editor's own travels. A further section of the introduction contains a critique of Strabo's sources, introducing a valuable note on Demetrius of Skepsis and a reconstruction of his patriotic theories. In the text Dr. Leaf follows Kramer's collation, but suggests several illuminating emendations of his own. The commentary which follows illustrates afresh the ripe classical scholarship and wide knowledge of the later history of the Troad possessed by the late President of the Hellenic Society. Where our author differs from other authorities, the opposing views are fairly stated and the arguments on either side are presented as to enable the reader to form his own judgment. In a word this book gives all that is necessary to make an edition of Strabo serviceable to the historian and the archaeologist and forms itself a precious contribution to classical learning.

The more summary treatment accorded to the last four paragraphs is justified no doubt by the obvious perversity of Strabo—or Demetrius—in tacking the coast from Adramyttion to the Kalkos on to the geographically distinct and unitary Troad. Still the southern coast might have been included in the main map. And I should like to have heard Dr. Leaf's views on the legend (surely not referring to Laconia) of Pitane's enslavement to Peloponians and liberations by (?) Euvriani and a rather fuller critique of Dörpfeld's latest identification of sites in the Kalkos valley. But there we touch upon ground that must inevitably be covered by the editor of the next section.

It only remains for me to thank Dr. Leaf for the inspiring lead he has given to the realisation of a project he himself initiated. It is to be hoped that political and financial conditions may soon render possible the exploration of the Anatolian coasts, in whose hinterland lies the key to many Aegean problems, necessary for the completion of the edition, which may be expected to throw still further light on early Hellenic history.

V. G. C.

Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου. Α'. β. Τοπογραφία πόλεως Χίου—Γεωγραφία. By G. I. ZOLOTAS. Pp. xiii + 696. Athens: Sakellarios, 1923.

This second part of the first volume of this monumental history of Chios deals with the topography of the capital and the history, genealogy and heraldry of the leading Chiote families. It is based upon great local knowledge and extensive research, and is a valuable contribution to the local history of Greece, in which Chios has played, alike politically and commercially, a very prominent part. There is much here about such well-known Chiote names as the Petrokokkinoi (who are shown to be not identical with the later Genoese family of Pietrascosa), the Ekleides (to give them their original spelling), the Roñlai, the Rodokanakai, the Skaramangades (first mentioned by Kinnamos in an account of a naval battle of 1149), the Skoulodai, the Skylitai, the Marroloudatoi, the Argental and the Kalvokoroi. This genealogical account is much more methodical than that spread over the gigantic work of Rodokanakes, and we shall look forward with interest to the sequel, which should describe the mediæval history of Chios under the *Μακρον* of the Ginstiniani. Now that Chios, after much suffering in 1822, has been at last united with Greece, the psychological moment has arrived for describing her fate under Genoese and Turkish domination.

W. M.

Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Νεωτέρης Ἑλλάδος, 1821-1921. Τόμος Β'. 1865-1900. By GEORGIOS K. ΑΣΡΗΚΑΝ. Athens, 1923.

This second volume of the work reviewed previously in *J.H.S.* XLIII, p. 71, covers the rather depressing period of Greek history containing the later Cretan insurrections, the 'Marathon massacres,' the Laconian mines question, the eastern crisis which terminated in the annexation of Thessaly and part of Epirus, the blockade of 1886 and the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. The author, who has made use of much unpublished material, takes a common-sense view of foreign policy, points out the mistake of the Greek Government in supporting the premature Cretan insurrection of 1866-69 in the then state of the Greek army, navy and finances, and severely criticises the policy of Deligiannis in 1875, 1883 and 1897. His account of the action of the 'National Society' in that last year is based upon its secret minutes (p. 227, n. 1), and he states that the then Austrian Minister at Athens, while publicly supporting Germany's Turkophil policy, privately encouraged the Greek Government (p. 234). Like most people now, he admires Trikoupi, whose policy he shows to have been friendly to, but not dependent on, Great Britain, and who held free elections, extended roads and railways—the reform upon which Finlay had always insisted as essential in his letters to *The Times*—and died in exile at Cannes. There are some severe remarks on the ingratitude of contemporaries to their Prime Ministers, and a deserved eulogy of the diplomacy of George I., whose position was often difficult, because misunderstood, who exercised the prerogative of the Crown to dismiss Deligiannis in 1893, and whose archives, we are told, contain valuable material for this period and were left in perfect order (p. 86, n. 2). The author blames the Russophil policy of some Greek politicians on the ground that Russia's real favourites were the Balkan Slavs, while he considers that British policy 'never had denied to Greece her future, but . . . was a policy of rough frankness.' In view of recent events, it is interesting to notice the first appearance of a Republican party of five in 1862. The book, which is illustrated with 52 portraits and autographs, contains one or two small errors in the account of the 'Marathon Massacres.' Lord Munster's name is mis-spelt (p. 33), and the late Mr. Noel's mission is omitted. Sir Arthur Nicolson was not 'Minister' (p. 161, n. 2) at Athens, but acting *chargé d'affaires*, in 1884. The volume deserves special commendation for its impartiality; but the third will severely test that.

W. M.

Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γεωργίας. Τόμος δεύτερος (1821-1893). By ΔΑΜ. Λ. ΖΟΥΜΑΡΙΝΟΣ. Athens, 1923.

This volume of the 'History of Greek Agriculture' (the first volume was reviewed in *J.H.S.* XLIII, p. 70) deals chiefly with the problem of the national lands, especially during the presidency of Capo d'Istria, whom the author warmly praises. It shows much research, and the accounts of the abortive scheme for founding a 'New Smyrna' on the Isthmus and of the application of the Thracian and Euxynian refugees for land in Greece possess topical interest in view of the present problem of planting the Asiatic Greek refugees on the soil. Capo d'Istria, like Finlay, desired that rich Greeks from abroad should create an agricultural revival, and the author thinks that Greece would have prospered more if the revolutionary Governments had given land to the combatants of the War of Independence. But party conflicts in 1832, as later, injured agriculture. There are some excellent personal sketches, such as those of Maximos, the Chiot, 'the first civilised agriculturist of the Morea,' who was murdered by brigands; of Philagitis, the first Greek agricultural Socialist in 1823; and of the Swiss Philhellene, Eynard. The foundation of the Nauplian suburb of Prœmia for refugees in 1829 and the proposed grant of land on the Isthmus to the well-known American, Dr. Howe, for purposes of colonisation, likewise come within this volume, which, like its predecessor, contains much of its most curious information in the extensive footnotes. It is written impartially and objectively and treats of a practical question too often ignored in political histories.

W. M.

Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence. Vol. II., The Jurisprudence of the Greek City. By SIR PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F.R.A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Pp. x + 316. Oxford University Press, 1922.

The limitations which Sir Paul Vinogradoff has set himself in this work have made his task peculiarly difficult. His object being to discuss the jurisprudence of the classical age of Greece, he has refrained almost entirely from quoting Hellenistic material, and yet it is largely on the documents of Hellenistic and Roman times that is based our confidence in the existence of a common Greek law behind the divergent systems of the separate States. As Sir Paul points out, in so far as the fifth and fourth centuries are concerned, the materials bearing on Athenian legal institutions are much fuller than those for all the other cities together, and consequently any presentation of the doctrines of that period is bound to assume an Athenian colouring; had he thought fit to make use of the considerable knowledge we now possess of later ages, this colouring might be less marked. One has the impression here and there throughout the book that the author, in discussing some point, suddenly remembers that he is not writing a treatise on Athenian law and pulls himself up, leaving the reader asking for more. In spite, however, of its self-imposed limitations, our gratitude for this, almost the first considerable work by a lawyer on Greek law that has appeared in English, must be very great. We have long been accustomed to wealth of learning from the author, and there is here a great deal more. Especially masterly are the second and third chapters dealing with 'the concept of law' and 'the legal system,' under which latter heading the puzzling theoretical classifications of Aristotle are brought into connexion with, and illustrated by, examples from the actual law. The difficulty of tracing this connexion is really one of the clues to the difference between Greek and Roman law. The Greeks had rules of law, and they had, what the Romans had not, philosophical discussions of the nature of law; what they never reached was the formulation of practical classifications which admitted of scientific argument and objective application in a court of law. Another chapter of particular interest is that on 'property and possession,' in which the main point is the insistence on the public element in this branch of Greek law; here too, almost of necessity, the author departs to some extent from his principle of not citing Roman law, because it is really only by contrast with the clear-cut Roman distinction between *dominium* and *possessio* that the relative nature of Greek property rights can be brought out. In the sphere of constitutional law, too, and contrast there is perhaps less that cannot be equally well obtained from previous French and German works. Sir Paul's argument on the disputed priority between *ἐκκλησία* and *ἐπίκουροι ἄνδρες*, brief as it is, weighs heavily in favour of the former, or at any rate in favour of their independent development, though the conclusion is not that which comparative law would lead one to expect. In the treatment of sales on credit one rather misses a reference to Pringsheim's 'Kauf mit freudem Geld.'

H. F. J.

Papers and Monographs of the American Academy at Rome. Vol. I., The Cults of Campania. By ROY MERLE PETERSON. Rome, 1919 (actually 1923). Pp. viii + 403. Vol. II., Local Cults of Etruria. By LILY ROSS TAYLOR. Pp. xi + 258. Rome, 1923.

In trying to unwind that most tangled skein, the history of ancient religion, it is very useful to know exactly when, where, and by whom a given deity or class of deities was worshipped. So far as Italy outside Rome is concerned there has been so far no source which was at once handy and reasonably complete. The American Academy, to whose enterprise we wish every success, is earning the gratitude of students by setting to work to remedy this defect. Their plan is to issue a series of monographs, covering each a definite region of Italy, which between them shall record, with sufficient documentation, every cult which is known or plausibly conjectured to have been associated with any ancient site. The works are therefore primarily compilations of bare fact, though Prof.

Taylor in particular often takes occasion to put forth a brief statement of her own views on a knotty point, and it is fairer to judge them by reference to the material provided by other works which treat with some fullness of the same subject.

By this test, both authors have done well. Mr. Peterson, for example, gives us some seven towns in which Apollo is known or supposed to have been worshipped, and six which are similarly connected with Dionysos. Of these thirteen cults, we can find only four in the geographical registers of the worship of these two deities in Farnell's *Culte of the Greek States*. Hera and Iuno between them are reported from eight sites; combining Farnell with the article Iuno in Roscher's *Lexikon*, we get a list of five only (Roscher inadvertently adds two more, from places which are not in Campania at all). Prof. Taylor gives some fifteen local cults of Apollo; we can find no corresponding list in the ordinary books of reference. Not only is this information conveniently brought together, but some of it is from obscure and out-of-the-way publications, not always to be had even at the larger libraries in this country.

Whether the arrangement of the books is the best possible, is perhaps matter for doubt. The divisions are purely geographical; it might perhaps have been more convenient to put all the occurrences of the worship of each deity together.¹ In any case, it would be well if rather more space could be allotted to the index, which in both volumes is too short, though generally accurate where we have tested it (Prof. Taylor, s.v. Apollo, has one reference to p. 131 which should be 132). The maps which accompany each book might also be larger and clearer. But these are counsels of perfection in these days of expensive printing.

Mr. Peterson perhaps is a little too kind to those whose views he quotes, more than once giving an account of some out-of-date theory which he at once proceeds to show has been put quite out of court by more recent investigations. Prof. Taylor, on the other hand, does not always deign to mention those writers with whom she disagrees; thus on p. 2 she gives only Pigorin's theory of the relation between the Terramara and Villanova peoples, saying nothing at all of Modestov, for instance.

But these and a few other trifles of the same kind leave us none the less thankful for what the American Academy has given us. It is to be hoped that Prof. Taylor will add to her existing works a treatise on Etruscan religion in general, which, her preface warns us, her present book does not pretend to be.

The Sacred Dance: a Study in Comparative Folklore. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. Pp. x + 234. Cambridge, 1923. Price 3s. 6d. net.

The author sets out 'to estimate the part played by the Sacred Dance' (i.e. dancing and similar movements regarded as a religious or magical rite) 'among the peoples of antiquity as well as among the uncultured races in modern times . . . and to indicate the purposes of its performance.' The chief emphasis is naturally laid upon Jewish and other Semitic customs, where alone he can speak as an expert. Greece and Rome, however, get a considerable share of his attention, the non-civilised peoples serving mainly the purpose of illustration.

So far as the classical evidence is concerned, the work is agreeable, if not very profound, and free from gross blunders. The material is derived principally from secondary sources, nearly all of them good and up to date, such as Farnell, Wissowa, Wards Fowler, and other well-known writers. The impression is given, however, that Dr. Oesterley is not very deeply versed in the subject of classical religion. Thus, he has made no use of several modern writers, such as Eitrem, from whom he might have learned a good deal, and some monographs in the Giesen series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*,² one of which in particular, Grossmann's *Nach- und Musikinstrumente im alten Testament*, might have been consulted for the discussion on p. 52 of Hebrew instruments.

¹ Incidentally, we might then have heard more of such interesting figures as Thuis and Pafum, who, because their cults can seldom be localised, are barely mentioned by Prof. Taylor.

² He does quote one, Hering's *Atlas*.

On p. 61 he seems to confuse pure Egyptian ritual with Graeco-Egyptian cult; on p. 121 we do not see why he should speak of the Maimades and the Korymbantes as 'mythical'; on p. 150 his account of the Luperri and the Salii is inaccurate in several details; and there are some minor errors. Among ethnological works, again, such books as van Genep's *Rites de passage* and Simpson's *Buddhist Praying-Wheel* might well have been laid under contribution, besides the works of Sir William Ridgway.

Since he has gone thus far in his study of a fascinating subject, it is much to be hoped that Dr. Oslerley will find time and inclination to turn his small book into a large one, with many more parallels from the lower cultures, more consideration of Egypt, India, and the Anatolian culture, and much more thorough investigation of the classical evidence, including—what is hardly mentioned at all—such matters as the dithyrambic and tragic choros.

Studies in Herodotus. By JOSEPH WELLS, M.A., Warden of Wadham College.
Pp. 8+232. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1923.

Mr. Wells might well have called his book 'Chips from an Oxford workshop.' It contains discussions on Herodotean questions for which there was no room in the excellent edition of the great historian which he put forth in alliance with Mr. W. W. How in 1912. It is throughout typical of Oxford and England, and very creditable to both.

Oxford is the seat of a living school of ancient history, which occupies an important place in the School of Literae Humaniores. There could be no better exercise for the minds of Undergraduates, and no better test of the soundness of the historical theories of the teacher, than the discussion between them of historic theories. Views have to be robust to endure the probing of sceptical students. An even better test is to read papers before the Oxford Philological Society and to expose one's discoveries to the kindly but keen scalpel of one's colleagues. The papers in the present volume have been through both these processes, and been refined in the fire.

The result is a treatment of historical problems as different as possible from the automatic and often largely *a priori* views of some recent historians. In Oxford the texts of the ancient authorities are treated with greater respect than on the Continent, and the setting forth of theories is usually more cautious and less dogmatic. Mr. Wells fully allows the great abilities of German historians of Greece, especially Professor Edward Meyer, but he refuses to be dazzled by the glamour of a great reputation, and when he thinks that an accepted view is based on slight evidence he does not scruple to say so plainly. He is at once iconoclastic and conservative. He sees the importance of archaeology as a test of ancient narratives, and he is determined to go behind historic theories to the text of ancient writers and to existing fact. He is also fond of citing modern parallels, and regards history not only as a record of events, but also as a branch of literature.

Mr. Wells finds a good example of the contrast of the *a priori* and the evidential manners of reconstructing Greek history in the question of the numbers of the Persian invaders. Delbrück, being convinced that the Persians as professional soldiers must have been better fighters than the Greek militia, whittles down the numbers of the Persians at Plataea to fifteen to twenty-five thousand, and makes them actually inferior to the Greeks in numbers. The superiority of the Greeks in patriotic fervour he does not take into account. In view of the class of German historians called realists, moral forces are negligible. But in defence of her kittens, even a cat will rise to her claws, and drive off a dog ten times her size. What will a historian working on materialist lines make of the campaigns of Alexander, or of Judas Maccabaeus, what of Bannockburn or Serapukh? No doubt numbers of armies are in all ancient history liable to suspicion; but we cannot merely correct the recorded numbers on *a priori* grounds. A much safer plan is that of Dr. Macan and Mr. Munro, who succeed by very probable reasoning in reducing the army of Xerxes to 300,000 men, no doubt an enormous and unwieldy number, but not beyond possibility. Mr. Wells is justified in complaining that the

careful computation of the English scholars is rejected by Obst on quite inadequate grounds, and is not even mentioned by E. Meyer.

No doubt it would be a mistake if one could forbid historians to make brilliant combinations and to elaborate perilous theories. They give attraction and zest to research. And even when their basis is weak, the discussion of them is likely to further knowledge of the subject. A historian who refused to go beyond what could be definitely proved would produce but a dull and stodgy book. The best course in this as in most things is a mean between extremes; and every school which works honestly according to its light does good. Even Mr. Wells allows the greatness of Meyer as a historian.

If the reviewer were to try to expound Mr. Wells' views he would need many pages, if he tried to discuss them he would need a special number of this Journal. The chapters range over a great number of the difficult questions which lie about the origins of Greek history, such as the colonisation of Ionia, the early history of Sparta, the sources of Herodotus, the Persian wars and the Ilion. I can only select, almost at random, a few points for consideration.

Perhaps the most speculative of Mr. Wells' chapters is that which deals with Gyges of Lydia. According to the author he was not by race a Lydian, but a chief of that mysterious people the Cimmerii, who seem, in the seventh century, to have turned all Western Asia upside down. He acquired the throne of Lydia, perhaps by a marriage arrangement, the favourite expedient of soldiers of fortune in all ages. And the Lydian cavalry, for a short time dominant in Asia Minor, were mercenaries in his employ. But characteristically Mr. Wells only claims for his view that it has more in its favour than other theories.

Another quite legitimate theory of Mr. Wells, which he had already set forth in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1907, is that Herodotus owes his knowledge, in many ways remarkable, of the organisation and resources of the Persian Empire, to Zopyrus, grandson of Zopyrus Governor of Babylon, who was in exile at Athens at the very time when Herodotus was there also, before he set out for the new colony of Thuri. Zopyrus must certainly have had access to official documents before his exile, and beyond doubt is a probable source of information.

Naturally, Mr. Wells has his stronger and his weaker sides. He is strongest where so many learned historians are weak, in good judgment and robust common-sense. But in my opinion he sometimes underrates the difference in motives which exists between men of the sixth century B.C. and men of the twentieth century A.D. It is natural that when we read in Herodotus that political action was taken in consequence of an oracle, or a personal jealousy, we search for a more solid mass of interest or expediency. But we may easily be thus led astray. It is at present a general tendency to make much of motives of trade as the determining factors in Greek State action. And in fact that they often were determining factors is shown by the inscriptions which inform us of the commercial jealousy with which in the days of their empire the Athenians were actuated. But nations and rulers, when their pride or ambition is in question, seldom act from commercial motives only; and this applies far more to the ancient than to the modern world. We may find an example of the trade obsession in Mr. Ure's contention that the early Tyrants were successful traders. And we may find a trace of it in Mr. Wells' suggestion (p. 114) that before the elder Miltiades went to the Cimonæus as despot, he had made a name there by trade. No doubt by the last generation of writers on ancient history commercial considerations were too often disregarded. But before they can be rightly estimated we require a far more exact history of ancient commerce than has yet been written. At present most writers have only partial views. And in any case it is clear that solid-trade interests were often outweighed by motives of prejudice, pride or religion, which were none the less real because they do not appeal to us.

At p. 103 Mr. Wells observes that while both Herodotus and Plato tell the story of the two sons who dragged their mother's chariot to the feast of Hera at Argos, it is only Herodotus who gives their names. He might well have added that in the French excavations at Delphi the two statues of Cleobis and Biton have been brought to light, identified by the inscriptions. The style of these statues shows them to be quite as early as the time of Croesus; but of course this does not prove that the pessimistic conversation

of the king with Solon actually took place. When speaking of the first Miltiades, the Tyrant of the Thracian Chersonese, Mr. Wells might well have mentioned the coins which he issued at Cardia; the head of Athena on them speaks of his continued fidelity to Athens; and the weight follows the Attic standard.

The broad humanism which has long been indigenous to Oxford appears in Mr. Wells' later chapters, where he turns from the discussion of events and numbers to the wider aspects of Herodotean lore, to allusions to Herodotus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, to Herodotus' relations to the intellectual life of his age, and to his influence on English writers from Sir John Mauleverle to Andrew Lang. As a whole the book is not only educative but interesting and stimulating.

P. G.

Kunstgeschichte. By ANTON SMITHSON. Band I. Altertum. Twelfth edition, by A. MICHAELIS and PAUL WOLTERS. Pp. xii + 608; 16 plates, and 1078 figures in text. Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1922.

This is a very valuable work, a great improvement on previous editions. It deals with the art of the Orient, Greece and Italy; and by art the editors mean architecture, sculpture, painting, and indeed every kind of surviving monument. The publisher has been very fortunate in his editors. Professor Michaelis surpassed almost all his contemporaries in width of knowledge and soberness of judgment; and Professor Wolters among living scholars best carries on the tradition. Wolters' catalogue of the Berlin collection of casts is still, though written in 1885, one of the most trustworthy and sound works on Greek sculpture, and needs addition rather than correction. And to Michaelis England owes a great debt for his admirable works on the Parthenon, the Lycian Nereid monument, and the marbles in private collections in England, works which have been the basis of all further writing on those subjects.

A comparison of the present edition with the ninth, the last which Michaelis completed before his death, shows that it is to him that the work owes its plan and most of its execution. Indeed it is very characteristic of the work of Michaelis in its symmetry, the sound judgment which it shows, and its careful adaptation to students. No archaeological work was more learned, more exact, more conscientious than his. He himself chose Wolters as a kindred spirit to superintend future editions; and Wolters has worked, as he says, as much as possible in the spirit of his predecessor. His main business has been to incorporate recent discoveries, and to record such fresh assignments of works as have met with general assent. He has added over eighty new illustrations. The product of his labours is certainly the most accurate and trustworthy history of ancient art which exists, though necessarily on a small scale.

For Oriental art Wolters has had the aid of F. W. von Bissing and C. Schuchhardt. The Greek and Italian sections, pp. 136-576, are of most interest to the readers of this Journal; and they could hardly be better done. Of course there was not space to discuss attributions, and unfortunately references had to be omitted. The writer has to state views as held by 'some,' and cannot do justice to individuals. But the particular views which he adopts in regard to monuments are not merely the 'last views,' but such as rest on solid grounds and have survival value. Naturally no specialist reader will be disposed to accept them all; but he may feel sure that alternatives have been considered, and difficulties not disregarded.

Special value is given to the work by its illustrations, which come on almost every page, and which constitute in themselves a sort of picture history of art; plans of sites, restorations, temples, houses, sculpture, vases, gems and coins come in most orderly arrangement. And a great point is that the illustration is so minutely planned (in the fashion of Michaelis) that the description of each monument is quite close to the representation of it. Some recently published English books are made almost worthless by the carelessness shown by the writers in this matter.

It is not easy to criticise a work of this character. One could point out dozens of cases in which the opinion of the reviewer differs from that of the writer. But I have

scarcely found one in which the writer does not follow what may be called, in the language of the Jesuits, a probable opinion. We may fairly say that the reader who accepts the views of Michaelis and Wolters will seldom be led into absurdity, or follow an *ignis fatuus*. And we can without hesitation praise the proportions of the book, the way in which the emphasis falls on the right places, the excellent perspective.

P. G.

Herodas: the Mimes and Fragments. With notes by WALTER HEADLAM. Edited by A. D. KNOX. Pp. lxi + 465. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. £3 3s.

Walter Headlam, whose early death was one of the greatest losses to exact scholarship in recent years, had busied himself for years with the collection of material for an exhaustive edition of Herodas. This work has been continued and completed by Mr. A. D. Knox. It is to be hoped that his large share in this volume will be properly recognised.

After two introductory chapters, one discussing Herodas' literary position, typical characters, etc., and one on the principles to be followed in constituting the text, the Mimes are given, the notes on each being printed after its revised text and the accompanying translation. The fullness of these notes recalls the spacious ways of the seveneenth century and of the late Prof. J. E. B. Mayor: each word, each phrase is the excuse for a collection of illustrations ranging from Homer to the Arabian Nights. This storehouse of accurate learning is made conveniently accessible by five full indices. To this wealth of information it is impossible to do justice within the brief compass of a review. If any fault is to be found with the book, it is that it fails to give a bibliography of the subject: for that we must still turn to Gerhard's article *Herodas* in *Pauly-Wissowa*, viii, 1080 ff., and add the two latest contributions, A. E. Housman, *C.R.*, 1922, p. 100 f., and H. J. Rose, *C.Q.*, 1923, p. 32 ff.

The Cambridge University Press has produced the book admirably; our regrets are the greater that its price inevitably reduces the number of those who can possess it.

The Pageant of Greece. By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. xi + 436. Oxford University Press, 1923. 6s. 6d.

Mr. Livingstone had the happy idea of following up his highly successful *Legacy of Greece* with a companion volume in which the Greeks should speak for themselves in translation. The idea has borne fruit in this attractive volume, in which versions of established value are for the most part used. *The Pageant of Greece* should serve a useful purpose: it is calculated to appeal warmly to those for whom it is written, and should make an ideal gift to boys and girls leaving school.

The Achievement of Greece. By W. C. GREENE. Pp. x + 334. Harvard University Press, 1923.

The endeavour to diffuse interest in the classics and knowledge of them among the public at large is being made in America to-day as in England. With this laudable purpose Prof. Greene here studies the geographical background of Greek life, the course of Greek history, the daily life of the Greeks, and their relations to society and to the universe. His book should help to remove from its readers the vague impression that the Greeks were 'classical' people in books and not built as other men: the danger of this unreal conception of antiquity is not wholly absent from its professed devotees.

Greek Life and Thought: a Portrayal of Greek Civilisation. By LA RUE VAN HOOK. Pp. xiv + 329. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923.

This work sets out to give a general survey of Greek States, architecture, furniture, sculpture, athletics, political, social, and economic conditions, writing, literature, education, drama, philosophy and science for the Greeks; it is illustrated with 46 small illustrations. It justifies its existence by giving in a convenient form some of the concrete information which may be desired by those who have felt the inspiration of Greece and would know more of it. The attribution to Pauly-Wissowa of a *Reallexikon* (p. 315) should be corrected.

Greek Religion and its Survivals. By W. W. HYDE. Pp. ix + 230. London: G. G. Harrap, 1923. 5s.

This is another volume in the series entitled *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*. It is devoted to a subject with which Mr. Lawson has made us familiar in his well-known book, and includes much interesting information in a small compass. Prof. Hyde's sketch of Greek religion, being summary, naturally contains some sweeping generalisations, as the denial of priestly influence (p. 6), which seems to ignore the powerful Delphic priesthood. On p. 9 he says, 'Aristophanes ridiculed the gods on the stage': to this should perhaps be added a warning that Aristophanes' jokes need not imply actual unbelief, but rather the spirit of mockery given full play in the Dionysia. On p. 25 he states of the Homeric Nekyia: 'The one ray of light in this dismal state is that it is not everlasting, since Odysseus sees no ghost older than the second or third generation before his time.' Surely it is clearly implied by Homer that the dead must continue in their bloodless existence for ever. To pass on to the main subject of the book, the survivals of ancient Greek religion in Christianity, and above all in Greek Christianity, it may be questioned whether the time is yet ripe for the treatment of this subject in popular form: the whole matter is highly controversial, and accepted results do not exist to any large extent. What is said on p. 46 f. of the Eucharist is very questionable: on p. 52 such borrowings are relegated to the time when the Church was victorious. The statement (p. 56), 'The people were taught that the saints were not to be worshipped like Christ and Mary,' seems to neglect the fact that the honours allowed to the Blessed Virgin were carefully distinguished from those due to God, and I do not know on what Prof. Hyde bases the conclusion that 'less than one-tenth of the population of the Empire was enrolled as Christian' (p. 51) at the time of the Edict of Milan: such estimates should not be put forward dogmatically.

It would be easy to criticise more points of detail in this book, but I should not wish to deny its usefulness, which will be increased if an index is added in the next edition.

Berosos und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur. By PAUL SCHNABEL. Pp. 276. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1923.

The greater part of this book was in print by 1913, but various circumstances prevented its completion till 1923. In consequence of this the fragments of Berosus are given without commentary, and two chapters of the work as originally planned are omitted. After discussing Berosus' life and the arrangement of his history, the writer examines the citations of Berosus in the classical authors, and draws up tables which illustrate his belief that Berosus was quoted at first hand only by Pseudeus, Alexander Polyhistor and Juba. There follow discussions of Berosus' account as compared with cuneiform sources, of his system of chronology, and of Babylonian astronomy in the Seleucid period, with two supplements dealing with unpublished cuneiform texts concerning observations of the moon in the 118th and 203rd years of the Seleucid era. The fragments of Berosus are arranged into three books, according to the scanty evidence, and an (incomplete) apparatus criticus is provided.

The historical interest of the work of Berossus now lies less in the mangled fragments of his book than in the reason for a compilation, which was in effect a plain and sometimes ungrammatical translation of the works of the barbers or divining priests of Marduk on their religion and history. Schnabel seems to assume that the intention of the writer was to address the whole Greek world, basing this on the phrase of Josephus (fragment 2), *οὗτος ἑρμηνεύει τὰς ἀπορρητὰς καὶ ἀνυστοίας*, and remarks on the fact that his book seems actually to have been little used. The priest who dedicated the work to Antiochus probably had a more immediate object which he actually achieved, to instruct the Seleucid court and the Macedonian officials in the history and religion of a civilised people whose faith and culture it was the policy of the early rulers of the Seleucid house to foster. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the influences at work in the Seleucid court is so limited that it is impossible to discover how much attention was paid to Berossus' work, but the interest attaching to it justifies the labour that Schnabel has expended on its analysis. As he points out, it is impossible to avoid errors in a work which involves special knowledge of Hellenistic literature, Assyriology, the literatures of the Semitic languages and astronomy; such errors are of small account in comparison with the value of a comprehensive treatment. It is, however, to be regretted that the author agreed to the omission of a commentary on the text, while including the two appendices on astronomical texts which might have been published elsewhere. Schnabel throughout the book takes the sound view that Berossus' history was accurate, but does not seem sufficiently to stress the unreliable character of the fragments as at present available. A good example of the perversion of Berossus by Abydenus apud Eusebius may be found in fragment 12, where the execution of Kings by Ea at the order of Marduk is rendered *καὶ οὕτως οὗτος ἔφη* (*καὶ οὕτως*) *ἀπαλείφει τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀποκτείνων*. Again, in fragments 53 and 54, Abydenus and Josephus do not agree as to the circumstances under which Nabonidus came to the throne, Josephus probably giving the more correct account; but both authorities agree that Nabonidus was appointed governor of Carmania by Cyrus, whereas Xenophon's account, *Cyropædia*, vii. 5, 39, more accurate in its details than is commonly supposed, states that Gobryas' troops killed the Babylonian king. This particular tale is more likely to have been drawn from a Persian source than from Berossus. In general, the writers from whom the fragments are drawn were hasty and often inaccurate, after the manner of Hieronymus, *Commentaries in Latinum*, XI. xxxvii., who quotes from Josephus, *Antiquities*, x. 1, 4, but ascribes the passage to Berossus, omitting to note that Josephus' actual quotation from that author has fallen out of the text. This passage from Hieronymus might have been included in the fragments.

(If omissions and errors a few may be noted. The table of kings of the period 330-261 (p. 7) needs correction. Antigonus is nowhere called king, though documents were dated by his years as *καὶ ἐν ἔτει = ἀρκεσέσθαι*. Philip Arrhidaeus was allotted eight years by some, see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, tit. 84. The phrase from Tatianus cannot be forced to show that Philip was considered illegitimate. The phrase *καὶ οὕτως οὗτος ἔφη ἀποκτείνων* (p. 75) almost certainly refers to the Ammaki, according to the Creation Epic, Tablet VI. On p. 158 Esarchaddon is credited with a reign of thirteen years; in fact he only reigned twelve, which affects the argument. That the Greeks called Gutium *mekka* as suggested on p. 192 is unlikely; Diodorus calls the Gutii *Κισσαῖοι Ἰβέρ*, thus recognising the distinction between them and the Medes. On p. 198 the name of the 17th king of Dynasty A should read Marduk-apal-usur; on p. 209 read Bel-nadin-akhe for Enlil-nadin-akhe; on p. 208 the date 1156 is a misprint for 1056; on p. 274, 0 read Kisee for Xisee.

It is to be hoped that Schnabel's work, especially on the relation of Babylonian and Greek astronomical literature, will be continued. His very interesting conclusions as to the Babylonian astronomical schools, which follow closely the methods of Kugler, deserve the attention and study of all who seek information as to the development of science in the fourth and third centuries before the Christian era.

Introduction to the History of History. By J. T. SHOTWELL. Pp. xii + 339. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922. \$4.00.

The history of this history of history is set forth in the preface. It was primarily intended as an introduction to a collection of historical texts, but in the writing it broadened out into a survey of ancient historiography. Those who confine their reading to the 82 pages which constitute the Greek portion of the book would hardly guess as much, for this section is almost wholly devoted to Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius. For a study of the genesis of Greek historical method we shall therefore go, as heretofore, to Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*, and for a comprehensive *catalogue raisonné* of the sources of Greek History (analogous to Rosenberg's *Einführung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte*) we are still kept waiting.

As regards his study of the Big Three, Prof. Shotwell is evidently well acquainted with the modern literature on these; but, naturally enough, he betrays no special intimacy with the ancient texts, and, what is more surprising in a scholar who is most at home in mediæval and modern history, he is very sparing in his analogies between the Greek writers and the *Erinyes*. Yet how instructive would be a comparison between Herodotus and Froussart or Holmeshed, between Thucydides and Machiavelli or Clarendon, between Polybius and Ranke or Seeley. The author does indeed emphasise the inferiority of Thucydides to the 'modern historian' in the abstract, but he discreetly refrains from mentioning modern names. Moreover, he is hardly fair to Thucydides in taxing him with economic blindness and a poetical *penchant* for sensations. Surely Thucydides is, if anything, too conscientious in chronicling small beer, and in his preface he becomes positively wearisome in his insistence on wealth as the basis of power. The chapters on Herodotus and Polybius offer less scope for criticism. They provide good outline sketches, and contain quite a repertory of neatly turned phrases, but they hardly depart from the accepted points of view.

Greek Economics. By M. L. W. LAISTNER. Pp. xliii + 204. London: Dent, 1923.

This volume, which forms part of a new series on Greek thought, is chiefly made up of extracts from Greek writers on economic matters. The selection of passages has been made with evident care, and contains everything, except *non obiter dicta*, which may fairly be classed as a contribution to economic theory. These contributions, be it confessed, form but rare and small islands in an ocean of otiose: only in the *De Venatibus* of Xenophon is there any sustained attempt to isolate economic phenomena and to study them on their own merits. The reader whose interest lies in economics will therefore find more profit in the preface, which provides a clear and well-balanced account of the social conditions of actual Greek life. Two salient features of this life might usefully have been given more emphasis: (1) the simplicity of its technique, both industrial and commercial, thanks to which some of the chief problems of modern economics, e.g. the proper control of capital and the regulation of foreign exchanges, were removed from the ken of the Greeks; (2) the wide diversity in the practice of individual Greek States, which ought to have given a filip to economic thought, as undoubtedly it stimulated political reflection. But in general it may be said that Mr. Laistner has made the best of a somewhat ungrateful task.

Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au II^e siècle de notre ère. By A. BOULANGER. Pp. xiv + 504. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1923.

Aelius Aristides, 'the second glory of Smyrna after Homer,' revered model of third- and fourth-century orators and in their opinion rival of Demosthenes himself, has fallen on evil days. Since Scaliger, who placed him hardly below the classics, he has been praised by few and loved by none. Reinke indeed admired 'the exquisite elegance of his Greek,' but found him as difficult as the speeches of Thucydides. Boulanger certainly does not love him and seldom even finds him a word of praise. Aware that no one reads him, he

is constrained to give long summaries of his orations, which leave us shivering. Aristides is, in fact, a corpse, but the examination of his remains by a scholar with a sense of humour is not without interest.

After painting a brilliant picture of Asia Minor in the second century A.D., with its passion for shows, ceremonies and literary competitions, Boulanger proceeds to consider the so-called Second Sophistic, giving full accounts of its principal representatives and summarizing the very considerable German literature on the subject. The history of Sophistic in Asia can be traced back uninterruptedly to the second century B.C. Philostratus, however, regards Nicoetes of Smyrna, who lived under Nero and his successors, as inaugurating a new era in Sophistic, and Boulanger holds that about the time of Nero an important change really did take place in the Sophists, who became official and public personages and were in future almost the sole representatives of literature, at least in Asia. In the first half of the second century the circle of Herodes Atticus refused to use words not found in the best Attic prose-writers. But Boulanger pertinently asks whether the disciples of Herodes were very different from their predecessors. Adrian of Tyre, his favourite pupil, seems to have had distinctly Asiatic tendencies, and on the other hand there was plenty of Atticism before Herodes. In Boulanger's opinion it was the grammarians who did most for Atticism, especially Alexander of Cotiaeum, teacher of Marcus Aurelius, of Aristides and of Phrynichus, the great theorist of the movement.

Boulanger has carefully gone into the chronology of Aristides' life, and a long article on the subject, recently published in the *Revue de Philologie*, is printed as an appendix to the present volume. The orator's amazing vanity, despite his protestations of modesty, his valetudinarianism combined with invincible faith in the prescriptions of the god Aesculapius, his belief that he was the special favourite of Heaven (did he not stop an earthquake at Smyrna by offering sacrifice?), his conviction that he wrote under divine inspiration in a more literal sense than any poet, at first sight suggest something resembling insanity. But Boulanger argues that in all this he was merely the child of his age. His Sacred Discourses, in which he performs the office of *ἀγαστάριος*, or recorder of miraculous cures, did not appear strange to his contemporaries. His vanity is normal to Sophists: 'he is the first of the Greeks, because eloquence is first of the arts, and he is the first of the orators.' His only peculiarity in this respect is that he attributes his superiority to Aesculapius, a god who had long been a patron of literary men.

It is impossible to deal here with Boulanger's long examination of the orator's works. Let it suffice to say that he assigns most credit to Aristides' model speeches on subjects drawn from ancient history, especially the Lemnian Declamations, 'where he has found a subject of real interest, and has treated it with much sobriety and erudition. . . . These declamations were properly considered models by the following centuries.' The last section of the volume, on the literary style of Aristides, is admittedly based on the work of W. Schmid, whose statistics are sometimes corrected. It is shown that Aristides did not add many Attic words to the literary language of his day: it was rather by purging it of a great number of post-classical words and expressions, and consequently by impoverishing it, that he gained the reputation of a rigorous Atticist. His syntax is distinctly Hellenistic; but when pointing out divergences from Attic usage, Boulanger should not assert without qualification that *ἐπεὶ ἄρα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πάλαι τῶν λόγων* is a grave breach of Attic rule. In the chapter on Aristides' rhythms, which we are told are Hellenistic and Asiatic rather than Attic, a considerable number of quantities are wrongly marked, e.g. *ἔπεια*, *ἔπειτα*, *ἐπειρήσει*, *ἔπειτα*, *ἐπειρήσει*, and the metrical scheme of the double cretic and the cretic followed by a trochee are wrongly given (p. 424). But in spite of a few blemishes, particularly in the last part of the book, Boulanger's work is generally excellent. Many of the footnotes are most valuable, being packed with information and containing references to all the latest literature on the matters discussed. It is a considerable achievement to have produced a readable volume of 600 pages about a man who never had one single original idea and who, apart from his diverting personal characteristics, is interesting only as a virtuoso.

J. H. S.

The Hellenistic Age: Aspects of Hellenistic Civilisation, treated by J. R. BURY, E. A. BARBER, EDWYD BYVAN and W. W. TARN. Pp. vii + 151. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1923.

The four lectures included in this book give a most valuable and interesting summary of certain results of recent research, and should serve as a stimulus to other scholars to turn their attention to the period which is discussed in them, and which has been strangely neglected in our Universities.

The introductory essay by Professor Bury points out the importance of the Macedonian kingdoms as pioneers for the Roman Imperial system, the brilliantly original ideas of the savants of the age, and the curious modernity of the whole atmosphere of the time. The study of the solutions which were found for the problems that arose in the Hellenistic world is not without value in the difficulties of the world to-day.

Mr. Barber's account of Alexandrian literature draws largely on the recent harvest of papyri, which has given us a selection from what the world has, for the most part, willingly let die: a good deal of fugitive matter, which was never intended to be more than fugitive; and a little good work which has by chance missed appreciation. His discussion of the considerations which led to the survival of certain representatives of Greek prose and poetry is important and suggestive.

There is less new material in Mr. Byvan's lecture on Hellenistic philosophy, but his account of the schools and their leading teachers is clear and eloquent. One point of special value which he makes is his insistence on the fact that Christianity is not a mystery religion, as it has frequently been assumed to be on arguments from analogies: the argument from analogy is being ridden to death.

Mr. Tarn has found his material for the treatment of the Social question primarily in inscriptions, and presents us with an account of the labour problems of the Greek world which is very much to the point to-day. The facts which he has used have not hitherto been put before English readers in a convenient form, and in some ways his contribution to the book is the most fascinating of the four.

Antike Gewichtsnormen und Münzfüsse. By O. VIERDEHANT. Pp. vii + 166. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923. Price 2s. 6d.

This book owes its appearance in print, as the author gratefully acknowledges, to a foreigner who has made himself responsible for the cost of publication, but desires to remain anonymous. The author's *Forschungen zur Metrologie des Altertums*, published in 1917, excited a good deal of opposition on the part of the representatives of what may be called the Lehmann-Haupt school of metrology. The book seemed to us one of the most hopeful signs of a revolt against the invention of imaginary norms which has been characteristic of that school. Some of us had completely lost our feet in the swirl of figures. We are now getting back to more or less solid ground—it will never be quite firm, because the materials are incoherent—and the author spends a good portion of this volume in clearing away such imaginary footholds as a norm raised by $1/36$. His method is broadly controversial. This is not the place to discuss the constructive portion of the book. We must be content with the observation that in obtaining his norms from the weights of coins the author employs what we consider to be the only sound method, that is to say, the frequency table. In other words, he bases his norm, or rather his working standard, not on the average weight of the extant specimens, which is affected by accidentally over-weighted and by worn and light specimens, but on that weight which is represented by the greatest number of extant specimens. One criticism: it is doubtful whether many will accept the theory that the passage in Herodotus, which says that the subjects of the Great King who brought in their tribute in gold used the Euboic weight, refers not to the Indians but to the peoples in the Pangean district. Is it not possible to suppose that the Euboic weight of which Herodotus (or rather his authority) was thinking was not that of his own time, but the earlier weight of the period of the Wappenmünzen? That was practically the same weight as was afterwards used for the Daric.

G. F. H.

Early Architecture in Western Asia. Chaldean, Hittite, Assyrian, Persian. By EDWARD BELL. Pp. xvi + 245; 99 plates and figures, and a map. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1924.

The aim of this interesting book is to give an account of the chief architectural remains as yet discovered in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria and Asia Minor in relation to the history of the countries concerned, and thus to afford a historical outline of the subject, intended for the general reader. In a subject so complicated by the absence of sufficient evidence, by unreliable assertions and counter-assertions, and by the inaccessibility of important material, the writer has maintained an impartial attitude. His views on the development of architectural ornament are clearly expressed, more particularly in the matter of Hittite influence on Assyrian work. The book is admirably written, and will adequately serve its purpose. That there are some noteworthy omissions, and debatable statements, is an inevitable result of the nature of the subject.

Two of the most important omissions concern a matter to which the author has devoted considerable attention, the nature and extent of Hittite influence on Assyria. That such an influence existed has been recognised ever since Sennacherib's inscriptions were first deciphered, since that king admits that he copied the buildings in the land of the Hittites, which were called *bit ālani* in the Amorite language. As to what the *bit ālani* actually was, much ink has been spilled; beyond the fact that it was some sort of portico or colonnade, nothing seems certainly established as to its form. The second omission on the point is the complete absence of any reference to the Aramaeans. A caveat should be recorded against disregarding this people, especially in considering the monuments of Sam'iri (see Hogarth in *Assyrian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsey*, and Unger in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, Heft li). The tendency to characterise monuments of the most widely diverse date and place as "Hittite," on very slender evidence, exhibited in an extreme form in Weber, *Hebräische Kunst*, needs correction in various particulars. But Mr. Bell's argument, that an influence found in the art of Boghaz Keui and Jerfah is present in Assyrian architecture, cannot be questioned; it can be supported by historical and linguistic evidence. The direct influence is more probably to be attributed to the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium than to the later period, when the kingdom of Mitanni and the Aramaeans intervened. Further, Mr. Bell's assumption of Egyptian influence on the Hittites seems to the present writer unquestionably correct. Seal cylinders and impressions from Boghaz Keui and elsewhere (see e.g. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Nos. 418, 464) are important evidence as to details borrowed by the Hittites from the Egyptians and by the Egyptians from the Hittites.

The profound and lasting influence of Sumerian art has perhaps not been sufficiently stressed. Thus there is a tendency throughout the book to regard long processional compositions as ultimately due to Hittite influence; but the theme is constantly used in Sumerian work, apart from the reliefs quoted, and is commonly found in seal impressions on Cappadocian tablets, probably under Babylonian influence. It is, of course, equally possible that such a subject may not be due to any external influence whatever. The herable arrangement of two animals, one on either side of a vase or other object, is also common in Babylonia; there is no sound reason for believing that the door lintel from Sennacherib's palace was brought from elsewhere. The assault of a lion on a bull is also a theme of Sumerian art, and is common from the earliest to the latest period, and there need be little doubt that the Persians derived the subject immediately from Babylonia.

In the treatment of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian buildings some use might have been made of modern translations of inscriptions as such matters as roofs and windows; and Babylonian building plans deserve some illustration. A more detailed account of reliefs of the Assyrian period, such as those from Qozan (Tell Halaf) and Saba'a (south of Sinjar) would show the very considerable differences in the Assyrian provinces, and would modify the conclusions as to the sculptures from Artan. The book deserves a speedy success; and when a second edition is needed, the writer will doubtless correct some few misstatements of historical fact, and some irritating misspellings, e.g. Nabonidus (for Nabonidus).

zigurat (for ziggarat), Muquayyr (for Muqayyār), Kalaat Shurghat (for Kalāt), Nebi Yunas (for Nebi Yānis), Dindaleoy (for Dindalāy), Nluib and Adlar (not two distinct gods, but both old readings of the name now commonly rendered Ninurta).

Hellenistic Philosophies. By PAUL ELMER MORE. Pp. 385. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923.

This book, the third of the author's volumes dealing with the Greek tradition, contains chapters on Aristippus, Epicurus, the Cynics and Stoics, Epictetus, Plotinus, Diogenes and Scepticism. Mr. More's treatment of his subject, always lively and suggestive, is at times severely critical. While finding much with which to sympathize in the ethical teaching of the philosophers with whom he deals, he cannot abide their metaphysics. All monistic explanations of the universe like those of the Stoics and Neo-Platonists he pillories unmercifully, but not, we think, unjustly. It is obvious that 'when reason has reduced the world to a fatalistic machine, any talk of freedom (and the Stoics talked much of it) becomes a pitiful mockery.' Hence he argues that Stoic ethics should have been combined with a dualism like that of Plato. Posidonius, it is true, was dualistic in his psychology, but even he retained the bad monistic metaphysics. Mr. More holds that Neo-Platonism is no proper and inevitable development of the Platonic philosophy; 'it is undoubtedly more Aristotelian than Platonic at the core,' because it owes so much to Aristotle's doctrine of God, and places *vous* within *vous* instead of keeping them apart, as Plato did. Here are some of Mr. More's trenchant remarks on Plotinus: 'so we have the Neo-Platonists offering a meaningless answer to an impossible question raised by a gratuitous hypothesis' (in reference to the emanation of the world from the absolute One); 'his metaphysics makes a jest of his philosophy or his philosophy makes nonsense of his metaphysics—as you choose' (this unkind distinction between philosophy and metaphysics occurs again and again in Mr. More's pages); 'as a protest against the material monism of Epicurus and Zeno the spirituality of Plotinus has a lasting religious value, but as a spiritual monism it cannot avoid the charge of running out into a mockery of tantalising paradoxes.' The mysticism of Plotinus Mr. More regards as a product of that passion for unification which deprived Plato's Ideas of their substantive reality and merged them in the *Nous*. The mystical trance itself he holds to be 'almost certain evidence of a physical or mental or moral taint somewhere in the devotee,' though he admits that the phenomenon is not inconsistent with the greatest excellences of mind and character. This vice of the trance will of course be energetically controverted by some, and even if its origin be suspect, it may still have high spiritual and practical value. On the whole Mr. More's criticisms of Neo-Platonic metaphysics seem fair enough, and they may prove a wholesome corrective to the somewhat exaggerated eulogy which is often bestowed upon the Plotinian system nowadays. Anyhow they make Mr. More's own position clear. He consistently maintains the dualistic standpoint of Plato and regards any attempt to transcend it as doomed to failure. After all, a monistic metaphysics claiming to be completely rational and yet consistent neither with itself nor with anything else is worse, because less honest, than a confession of ignorance.

The chapter and appendix on Greek Scepticism, in which Mr. More tilts freely at its modern historians, are particularly interesting and valuable, but we think that many readers will be surprised to find Plato there represented as the 'complete sceptic.' Pyrrho, we are told, is an incomplete sceptic because he acts solely by affections material in their origin, treating the spiritual kind as illusory, thus 'suffering reason to tyrannize dogmatically over one half of his consciousness.' Plato, on the contrary, accepts the whole range of our immediate affections, material and immaterial, 'the forces of the immaterial world, with which in some way he is in contact, being simply in his vocabulary the Ideas.' Plato thus merits the name of sceptic because he dogmatically denies none of our affections and at the same time does not attempt to explain the ideas or to absorb them in any monistic scheme. To this we may object that, if we take him at his word, Plato has very definite views indeed about his eternal Ideas, views far more dogmatic than any which Pyrrho held about the cause of his sensations.

Non in dialectica complacuit Deo sedum facere populum suum, as Mr. More quotes from St. Ambrose, and we have perhaps dwelt too long upon the critical part of the book. It is by no means all disputatious. There is much graceful and eloquent writing. The chapter on Diogenes, showing how that burly ruffian became canonised as a kind of pagan saint, is a truly delightful essay; and no less charming are parts of the chapter on the old lamm schoolmaster, Epictetus. Mr. More too has a happy way of citing illustrative anecdotes and extracts which are not to be found in the usual text-books on ancient philosophy. We have noted very few inaccuracies or misprints. On page 1 Phalaris should be read for Phanias and 'twenty minas' for 'twenty drachmas'. — Aristippus did not insult Socrates by offering him an honorarium of a hare sovereign—and on page 283 Eurysthenes is a mistake for Eurystheus.

J. R. S.

Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account. Edited by W. E. CRUM and H. I. BELL, with an introduction by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. (*Coptica*, Vol. III). Copenhagen (Hauniae): Gyldendal and Nordisk Forlag, 1922.

The Rask-Oersted Foundation of Copenhagen University has done a service to Graeco-Coptic studies in including a publication of the texts from Wadi Sarga in the series *Coptica*, for which scholars should be obliged to Prof. H. O. Lange and its other directors. Prof. Lange (till lately the distinguished Principal Librarian of Copenhagen's Royal Library) prefaces the book with a foreword, in which, as he justly says, 'the Danish Government, realising the duties of a neutral and of a collaborator in the society of nations, deserves our thanks for the creation of the Rask-Oersted Foundation, whereof the object is to contribute something towards furthering international co-operation in matters scientific.'

The excavations at Wadi Sarga were carried out in 1913 by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson (more recently one of the British Museum excavators in Southern Babylonia) for the Byzantine Research Fund, and preliminary notices of the work by him and by Mr. O. M. Dalton have appeared in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. We still await from him the final publication, but meanwhile the texts of the papyri and ostraka are now published by two of our chief authorities on the subject, Mr. Crum and Mr. Bell, and to their work Mr. Thompson contributes a short introduction describing the site and summarising the results of the dig.

The mostly fragmentary texts on papyrus and potsherds and the epitaphs on grave-stones found in the ruin of the ancient monastery of 'the Holy Rock of Apa Thomas' are of the type well known already from Mr. Crum's other publications of Coptic papyri and ostraka and from my *Greek and Coptic Texts from Ostraka in the British Museum*. They may occasionally supply a new version of a Biblical text, a new reading, a new word or name, a new dialectic phenomenon. The epitaphs are the usual catalogic invocations of saints, among which 'the great Apa Apollo' and 'Apa Anoup' may well, as Mr. Crum suggests, be highly imaginary saints indeed, and no less personages than our old friends the heathen gods Apollo (Horus) and Amphis, taken over bodily into the Christian hagiology. How this would have interested Scott-Moncrieff, had he realised it in time for his *Beginnings of Christianity in Egypt*? But, after all, our English St. George is merely the crocodile-killing Horus, is he not, *divinement changé en saint*? In this connexion I might suggest that the word or name $\tau\epsilon\beta\beta\alpha$, which occurs after that of the Blessed Virgin in a British Museum inscription published by me (No. 472), is not the name of a separate 'St. Teibla' but is simply meant for $\tau\epsilon\beta\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ($\Sigma\epsilon\beta\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ with the Coptic feminine definite article prefixed), 'the Sibyl'. It is odd to find Our Lady so described; but nothing of this kind was impossible to the ignorant and muddle-headed Egyptian Christians of the dark ages, who never seem to have been able to make up their minds whether to defy and exorcise the pagan deities as devils or to adopt them as saints, and frequently did both! And in connexion with their ignorance and unletteredness, as well as in connexion with the history of modern Greek forms and spelling, the popular spellings of Greek words in these documents of *nos.* VII-IX are interesting. Thus we find $\tau\eta\alpha\alpha\tau\tau$ (mod. $\tau\eta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\alpha$) for $\tau\eta\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha$ and $\epsilon\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\alpha$ (mod.

ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲃⲁ for ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲧⲁ, but ⲉⲩⲣⲉ (with hard Coptic ⲉ, ⲉ) for ⲉⲩ, while ⲉⲩⲉⲁ has become ⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉⲁ (ⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉⲁ). There are plenty of other erratic spellings (especially in Greek proper names, which are often terribly mangled), but *ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲃⲁ* and *ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲧⲁ* are distinctly interesting as giving the real pronunciation of those Greek numerals in Egypt just before and at the beginning of the Abbadid period. Mr. Bell writes a special study on the metrology described in the text, which will be interesting to students of Egyptian-Byzantine weights and measures. Otherwise the book is more interesting to Coptic than to Greek students.

H. H.

The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter : a Study in Greek Epistolography.

By the Rev. FRANCIS XAVIER J. EXLER. Pp. 141. Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America, 1923.

The author undertook this piece of research with a view to an investigation of 'the origin of the Greek letter-form'; his idea was, by an examination of the papyri, to arrive at data serviceable for determining the degree of authenticity of the literary letters preserved. This idea proved impracticable, and the author has confined himself to a sketch of the history of the Greek letter during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, that is, from the third century B.C. to the end of Diocletian's reign. The book is indeed less a history of the letter-form than a collection of material for such a history. The various formulae of greeting and farewell, with certain of the conventional phrases occurring in the body of the letters, are taken in turn, and their history is illustrated by setting out the differing shapes they assume, with dated references. The whole is furnished with a brief introduction, in which the nature of the letter is discussed, and with a few concluding remarks, summing up the results of the investigation.

The volume will serve a very useful purpose. The formulae were on the whole surprisingly constant, but they did develop to some extent, and the various forms can be roughly dated. Since it is the exception rather than the rule for letters to bear a date such conscientious supplement very usefully the evidence of script; and it is, moreover, of interest, apart from any utilitarian motive, to follow the history of the component parts of the ancient letter.

The author has done his work excellently. It may be doubted indeed whether he was well advised to include in his survey petitions and contracts in epistolary form, even though he does distinguish them from letters proper. Formally no doubt they fall under the head of letters, but they belong in reality to a quite distinct class of document, and their history has little relation to that of the true letter.

H. I. B.

Documenti della primitiva letteratura cristiana in recenti papiri d'Ossirinco. By ALDO NARRI MODONA. (= Estratti Rivista "Biblica," II Serie.) Pp. 55. Roma : Casa Edit. "Biblica," 1923.

The author selects from Part XV of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* the most noteworthy of the theological texts and discusses them at length. These are : The Aristides fragment, 1778; the early Christian hymn, 1786; the *Didache* fragment, 1782; the *Hermas* fragment, 1781. The discussions, which are accompanied by reproductions of the texts, will be useful to those who cannot readily see the original edition, but Dr. Modona does not add to the work of the editors a very great deal that bears directly on the subjects concerned.

Namenbuch: enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden . . . Ägyptens sich vorfinden. By Dr. FRIEDRICH FÜRSTNER. Pp. 5 + cols. 228. Heidelberg : Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1922.

The heroic days of papyrology, when the science was confined to some half-dozen workers, who found it possible to carry the necessary material in their heads, are beginning already

to seem somewhat mythical. This is the age of the Epigoni, and the mass of published papyri is not so enormous that no man can safely rely on his memory to guide him. Collections and arrangements of the scattered material are now essential. No scholar has done more in this direction than Preisigke, whose lamented death a few months ago is an irreparable loss to papyrological research. The present volume, the last work of the kind to be published in his lifetime (it is to be hoped that it will be found possible to publish posthumously his word-index, which was already in the press when he died) is not the least valuable of his services to science. Proper names, as can readily be understood, are peculiarly difficult to read in the case of mutilated or badly written texts. In many cases only the discovery of parallels can help, and the labour of hunting through the numerous indexes is so great that it is of inestimable assistance to have a single comprehensive list like the present. Moreover, names were so distributed, locally and chronologically, that they are often useful in determining date or provenance; and finally they not infrequently throw light on local cults. For all these reasons the volume has already become indispensable to all serious students of papyri.

The principles followed by the compiler are certainly sound in the main. In accordance with the usual but not invariable practice, he accounts all names, though in many cases it must be confessed that the accentuation is very uncertain, and Preisigke's decisions of doubtful points are sometimes open to objection. A good system of cross references makes it possible to trace the various forms of a single name. References are made, as a rule, not to single papyri but to volumes, the indexes to which the student must then consult for himself—a perfectly reasonable saving of space. Dates are indicated but not provenance; this being uncertain in so many cases that it seemed impossible to note it systematically. At the end is an appendix by G. Lüttmann, who collects the Abyssinian, Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew and Phoenician, and Persian names, identifying them wherever possible with their original forms.

H. J. B.

Collection des Universités de France: Platon, Œuvres Complètes:
Tome III, 2^e partie, Gorgias et Ménon. By ALBERT CHENET and LOUIS
BOUR. 16 L. — Tome VIII, 1^{re} partie, Parménide. By AUGUSTE
DÉS. 10 L. Paris: Association Guillaume Baulé, 1923.

The Laws of Plato, the text edited with introduction, notes, etc., by E. B. ENGLAND.
Lit.D. 2 vols. Manchester University Press, 1921.

The two first of the above-named form part of a comprehensive collection of classical texts accompanied by introductions, brief notes and page-for-page French translations. If the present volumes are fair specimens of the series—whose appearance coincides so happily with the revival of the classical curriculum in French schools—it compares very favourably indeed in scholarship and in style of production, as well as in price, with our Loeb Classics. The text of the three dialogues is edited on cautiously conservative lines. The apparatus criticus is more complete than that of Burnet's Oxford edition; the Vienna manuscript Y and W have been freshly collated, and for the *Parmenides* full and careful use has been made of the commentaries of Proclus and Damascius. In a 70-page introduction M. Dés analyses the *Parmenides*, examines its relation to the other critical dialogues, and summarises the voluminous controversies to which it has given rise. His own attitude is agreeably free from dogmatism; but he concludes that the confusion in which the dialogue issues was intended to show the impotence of mere *doctrina* for dealing with the ultimate problems of philosophy, and suggests that the difficulties would have been cleared up in the unwritten *Philosophus* by means of the unifying yet individualising intuition of *poiesis*. M. Chénet contributes brief but admirably written appreciations of the *Gorgias* and the *Meno*. Finally, the notes on the subject-matter, though few, are generally interesting and useful, particularly the parallels which Dés cites from Aristotle and the Neoplatonists.

Dr. England has given us a text of the *Laws* based on that of Burnet, accompanied by some 500 pages of notes dealing with detailed questions of textual criticism and interpretation. This is the first English commentary on the whole of the *Laws*, and would for that reason be welcome even were the work less competently done than it is. In particular, the

full analyses of the contents of the several books and the copious indices should be of real service in enabling students to find their way in the longest and the least familiar of Plato's writings. The introduction, on the other hand, strikes one as scrappy and inadequate: Dr. England conspicuously lacks M. Gruber's grace and dignity of style, and he seems to have little to say about the *Lysis* as a philosophical work beyond such remarks as that 'Plato here reaches the high-water mark of monogamous morality, and that' his personal leaves us with increased reverence for the rule of right and goodness.'

E. R. D.

Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses. By FREDERIK POULSEN. Translated by the Rev. G. C. Richards. Pp. v + 112. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 2s. 4s.

Dr. Poulsen has rendered a service both to the general public and to archaeologists by making accessible some of the numerous but little-known works of ancient art in England. He begins with short general accounts of the nine collections (with one exception private houses) which he visited, illustrating them by pictures of the houses and grounds, and of a selection of those of their sculptures which are not portraits. The selection is an arbitrary one, and as such not open to too rigorous a criticism. It will, however, mislead any who believe it to be representative of the sculptures not included by the title of the book. We look in vain for a mention of the almost unknown late fifth-century torso in the Soane Museum, which may belong to the frieze of the Erechtheum. That is only one of several notable omissions.

Some of the more interesting forgeries find a place here; but the inclusion, under the term 'forgery,' of innocent modern copies, swells the list, and gives, if not an entirely false, at least an exaggerated impression of the unscrupulousness of Italian dealers and the simplicity of English collectors. Though the Homer bust at Ince (No. 115) appears twice in the list of easily-detected forgeries on p. 19, there is no new reason for believing it to be anything but an unimportant antique copy of the Hellenistic (Farnese) type, as Furtwängler thought (*Statuenkopfen*, p. 39); and the Soane Museum bust (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 475, No. 14) still seems to the present writer both genuine and important, not a forgery as stated (p. 26, note 2). Dr. Poulsen would have been safer in condemning the atrocious Rosalie 20 (Fig. 32, facing p. 23), about which he seems doubtful.

The main part of the book follows. This is, in effect, an excellent summary, chronologically arranged, of the achievements of Greek and Roman portraiture from the fourth century onwards, illustrated mainly by sculptures in England, but with a wealth of references to and some photographs of related works abroad. It may be easily understood, when we consider the author's unsurpassed iconographical knowledge, that these parallels are, throughout the book, both accurate and illuminating. Not so plausible, however, as most is the theory that the five portraits in the Soane Museum (Nos. 80-84) are 'examples of local Romano-British portraiture,' and illustrate English provincial sculpture under the Empire. The claim rests on one piece of evidence only, and that fallacious. The 'poor coarse-grained marble,' supposed local material of which all are said to be made, proves to be in No. 81 Parian, in Nos. 80 and 82 fine Pentelic or Luna, and in 83 and 84 coarse Pentelic or fine island marble. That the draped examples wear *himation* rather than *tege* speaks for itself.

Perhaps not many readers will share Dr. Poulsen's enthusiasm for the depressing portrait of a poet at Houghton (No. 6); here, by a slip, he denies the open mouth to any other head except the pseudo-Demosthenes of the British Museum (in which it is probably intended to render a deformity), having already remarked that it occurs in certain portraits of Homer.

There is one point where his conclusion hardly agrees with the monumental evidence. In dealing with the head Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, No. 178, p. 370 (Poulsen, No. 13, p. 41), he follows Michaelis in speaking of eleven large drill-holes (there are ten only) and does not mention the four smaller ones at the back. The larger holes are spaced equally round the head, except over the nape of the neck. Dr. Poulsen argues that the ten holes are for the attachment of a metal wreath. But no sculptor is likely to bore ten large drill-holes where two or three small ones would be ample, and a wreath secured by holes

so placed would cover the ears. We are forced to the conclusion that the larger holes were for *rosettes*, the smaller probably for the bow of the fillet. This might incline us to give the work a later date than seems probable at first glance: heads with royal diadem and rays occur on coins in the second century A.C., and Alexandroid traits were then still in fashion.

It must have required an act of faith to recognise No. 14, p. 41, as 'Studniczka's Menander' in a replica as poor as the portrait of Menander in the Capitoline Museum. It does not correspond in detail with the certain replicas, and is, moreover, of quite tolerable work. Further, Michaelis' description to which a reference is given (*Studien über die Plastik*, p. 361, No. 110), does not suit it at all. In fact Bernoulli, and also Studniczka (whose authority is cited in support of the identification), are dealing with Michaelis' No. 176, which is not in Dr. Poulsen's book, the head (No. 15) identified with it being in reality Michaelis' No. 110.

The translation on the whole appears to be accurate. But surely Dr. Poulsen wrote the equivalent of 'this kind of hair-drawing occurs only in the time of Phidias,' and not 'only this kind of hair-drawing occurs in the time of Phidias,' which is the meaning of the sentence on the last two lines of p. 24. There is, as a matter of fact, something very close to it on the Mausoleum frieze (fallen Amazon, slab 1014), though there the fillet does not show. The last sentence of No. 66 (p. 82) is unnecessarily involved, phrases like 'especially in vegetable fibre of surface' (No. 78) need amplification, and such unpleasant collocations as 'ear-flap' (No. 44) and 'prop of the nose' (No. 76) should have been avoided. But these and a few other obscure or ill-sounding passages hardly impair the essential value of the book, which will remain an admirable example of the proper use of specialised knowledge for a double purpose.

B. A.

Beschreibung der Reliefs in Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen. By OTTO WALTER (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut). Pp. vii + 249. Wien: Hölder & Co., 1923.

This turns the Magazine of the Acropolis Museum from a hunting-ground into a scientific preserve. But even those who enjoyed it before will not regret the change. Dr. Walter's book, which deals with all the reliefs except architectural fragments and terra-cottas, forms (with Praschniker's forthcoming publication of the free sculpture) a complement to the British School Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum proper. The whole series will present, not, it is true, all that remains to us of the monuments of the Acropolis, nor yet only objects found on the Acropolis, but all the marbles that are now preserved there. The present work, which appears small only because of its compactness, is a model of its kind. The arrangement (except that the table of contents should be at the beginning instead of the end) is so good that it seems the natural one; the text gives all that one needs and no more; the pictures are small but excellent, and all the reliefs are illustrated except those so shapeless that a photograph tells no more than a description.

The author says that his work is one for the expert. But it will appeal to experts of many kinds. For the archaeologist almost all the material treated is of interest; there is matter, too, for the historian, and much for students of religion and of art. Dr. Walter is to be congratulated on an indispensable reference book, which shows little trace of the difficulties under which it was produced.

B. A.

Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay. PP. xxxviii + 478, with 14 plates. Manchester University Press, 1924.

The general prejudice against works of the *Festschrift* type will find little to justify it in this volume. The compression and conciseness which are essential for contributions to volumes such as this are advantages which outweigh the disabilities. Out of the thirty-two papers which this volume contains, many consist of short but scholarly summaries of subjects about which an almost unmanageable literature has grown up in recent years—unmanageable at least for those who are not actually initiates in or contributors to that literature. Thus Professor Fraser's paper on the 'Lydian Language,' Dr. Hall's on 'The Hittites and Egypt,' Dr. Hogarth's on 'The Hittite Monuments of Southern Asia Minor'

Professor Sayce's on 'The languages of Asia Minor' and Dr. Wilhelm's 'Zu Inschriften aus Kleinasien,' each in its own way gives an invaluable résumé of a topic of first-class importance with the addition of the criticisms and interpretations of an expert in that topic.

Professor Fraser reconsiders the problem of the type of the Lydian language in the light of the epigraphical discoveries at Sardis. With this and other evidence he is able to reaffirm its relationship with Etruscan and to emphasise the influence which Indo-Germanic has had upon the whole Lydian tongue. The value of such a restatement of an old problem is self-evident.

Dr. Hall, in an admirable paper, summarises the periods and phases of history in which the Hittite and Egyptian empires met, combined or clashed. He definitely classes the Hittites as pre-Aryan and shows how they were influenced (like Lydians) by Indo-Europeans on the one hand and Indo-Iranians on the other. The Indo-European invasion of the Near East he places at about 2000 B.C. (a date that is confirmed by the European evidence). But his further conclusion that the entry of the Phrygians into Asia Minor coincided with the appearance and use of iron has less evidence, if, indeed, it has any, to support it. There is, on the other hand, reason to believe that the Phrygian hordes which were passing through into Asia just before the fall of Troy were the last of many waves. Their first appearance on the Aegean littoral is at a more remote period still, and the numerous legends which place them or detachments of them in Macedonia, Phokis, Boeotia and even Attica must go back to the fifteenth century B.C. The bulk of them thus reached Anatolia in the Bronze Age, though by the time that they had reached Carcenish they may well have learned the use of iron weapons. It is thus a rash assumption that 'the new-comers were exclusive iron-users and the Iron Age now begins in the Near East,' and though probable and attractive it is as yet unproved that Mycenaean Greece went down before men of the same stock and of the same invasion. We must learn more about the Phrygians in Europe before we can dogmatise about them at the time of their arrival in Asia.

Professor Sayce's paper on the 'Languages of Asia Minor' should be read with Dr. Hall's paper, since it gives the linguistic side of Dr. Hall's arguments. The contact of Asiatic languages with Indo-European is again emphasised: Sanskrit-speaking tribes were living in Asia Minor at least in the fifteenth century B.C. The borrowings also are mutual. Greek contains Hittite words like *tyôn* and *sympôa*, to mention but two.

Of the archaeological papers, that by the late Mr. H. C. Butler on 'The Elevated Columns at Sardis and the Sculptured Pedestals from Ephesus' is one of the most important and most interesting. The writer examines the structure of the temple at Sardis and emphasises the remarkable character of the elevated interior columns on pedestals, which are quite un-Hellenic. He derives them from a Lydian prototype and compares with them the similar sculptured columns from Ephesus. The Sardian columns themselves, he thinks, would have had sculptured pedestals also, had they been finished. At Ephesus the name of Croesus is the only name which can be associated either historically or epigraphically with the columns. It seems, then, to be no mere coincidence that the only other columns of the type come from Sardis. The type may thus be Lydian in origin. Once this is granted, then the arrangement of the pedestal columns at Ephesus may well have been the same as their arrangement at Sardis and the number of the Ephesian sculptured columns may be considerably reduced, the other columns being without pedestals or sculpture. This involves a fundamental change in our conception of how the Ephesus temple should be restored. The paper is cautious and suggestive and should, in the light of further excavation at Sardis, lead to a reconsideration of the plan of the temple at Ephesus.

Dr. Hill contributes much new numismatic evidence, in particular a silver coin of Koe with a head of Herakles, which is apparently a portrait of Mausolus out at a time when that prince was either ruler of or at least in control of Koe.

Mr. E. S. G. Robinson's paper on 'The Archer of Soli in Cilicia' is useful in that it recognises the Soli archer as an Amazon, an identification which has been suspected but never proved. He might, perhaps, have included with it the beautiful bronze at Berlin, of about the same date, which is always called a 'Scythian Bowman' and is so obviously an Amazon.

S. G.

La Civilisation Égéenne. By G. GLOTZ. *La Renaissance du Livre*, 78 Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris, 1923. Fr. 15.

This book was originally to have been written by Adolphe Reinach, whose death is one of the many losses archaeology has to mourn as a result of the Great War. M. Glotz, who has taken up the task, none the less difficult because he is not a specialist in what is known as Prehistoric Aegean Archaeology, has on the whole acquitted himself well. He has produced a pleasant, readable volume which gives the uninitiated a good survey of the whole field of the rise of civilisation in the Aegean area in the Bronze Age, and makes a fascinating story. The book is well planned and there is a good bibliography, in which, however, he credits Sir A. Evans with an unwritten book, *The Nine Minoan Periods*. The student will find the book a good introduction to the subject, but will do well to verify any statement he wishes to use, by reference to the original authority, and should bear in mind that M. Glotz is not quite up to date in the latest researches; for in no subject so much as in Prehistoric Aegean Archaeology do opinions change or does evidence accumulate so rapidly. The specialist too can benefit by perusing this useful summary of the whole field and will derive pleasure and profit from observing M. Glotz' errors and omissions. In his translation of Modern Greek place-names M. Glotz is remarkable for his inconsistency; he writes *Haghi* and *Ancje*, *Arzakhori* and *Mockos*, *Petsefi* and *Sydnas*, and so on; but in this he can claim the precedent of Sir A. Evans, whose map of Crete in *The Palace of Minos* is full of similar inconsistencies.

In his introduction M. Glotz touches on the geography and physical environment of the civilisation, but in speaking of the ordinary Aegean diet he omits cheese and wine. As to the climate, he forgets that the heavy winter rains run off very quickly and do far less towards renewing the water supply than the snow on the higher hills. He buries the flint problem in the Aegean and repeats the old belief that Melos was the only source of obsidian. In his list of excavations he misdates those of Schliemann, he omits Vrocastro, he does not give Xanthoudides the credit for Nimn Khani, and he does not do justice to the work of Tocantus. In the section on chronology he inclines somewhat to that proposed by M. Franchet, who paid too little attention to archaeological results. On the other hand, it must be admitted that now that Sir A. Evans has introduced subdivisions of *a's* and *b's* into his system, the division between M.M. III.b. and L.M. Ia. seems rather unnecessary. He is unfortunate in denying the discovery of neolithic objects in the Peloponnese: such have been found long since by the Americans in Corinthia and recently in Arcadia. He is happier in his discussion of the term Minoan. He remarks that to use the term Early Minoan for objects which long antedate any possible Minoan is illogical, just as it is incorrect to call objects of late date found outside Crete L.M. III., for by then Crete and Minoan had declined and fallen. Still he accepts the use of the word Minoan as convenient, although not quite logically correct—a wise decision. In the sketch of the History which follows he assumes the neolithic culture of Thessaly to have been due to an invasion, and speaks of the Peloponnese as a desert lying interposed between it and Crete, a view which requires radical revision. He regards the Isthmus of Corinth as a road leading from Boeotia into Argolis; clear evidence that M. Glotz has never travelled by his *grande route*. He repeats the mistake that Tiryns is older than Mycenae and speaks of clans and patriarchs in East Crete without giving his evidence for the existence of these interesting gentlemen. He places the Achaean conquest at the beginning of Middle Helladic, and regards these Achaeans as an Illyrian population who drove out Pelasgians. He believes that the middle Helladic matt-painted pottery originated in Aegina and thence spread over Greece. This is an opinion which has no evidence whatsoever to support it, and is similar to the old exploded theory that the Dorians were the sole makers and proprietors of *Cumaeis* pottery. He attributes the first ruin of Knossos to the seventeenth century to a revolution after an earthquake, and assumes that the new dynasty which followed introduced a new script. He dates the Isopata tomb to L.M. I. and gives a very ingenious explanation why the L.M. II. style of Sir A. Evans is found only at Knossos. He believes in the Minoan port of Pharos in Egypt, and that the Megaron of the mainland dates from L.H. I., whereas neither of the known examples is older than L.H. III. He is not familiar with the latest research in the growth of the fortress of Tiryns and he is not very

well posted as to the archaeological occurrences of amber in Mycenaean tombs, while his account of the fall of Knossos is most picturesque, and reminds us of Mr. Keynes Smith's fantastic picture. He believes the megaron appears in Crete in L.M. III., and assumes that the king of Knossos had destroyed Phaistos, H. Triada, Tylissos, and Mallia. At Mycenae he sees a second palace with the 'traditional megaron' and a *grande salle à colonnes* which does not exist, and retains the old view that the galleries of Tiryns were for defensive purposes. Generally speaking his account of the latter part of the period is too much coloured by his imagination.

Then comes an account of the Material Life. Here, in dealing with craniology, he seems to base too much on the very scanty evidence so far obtained. For instance, there is none of any value from Knossos and none from Mycenae as yet available. He is naturally much interested in the costumes, and here again indulges his fancy perhaps too freely, but in dealing with jewellery he does not keep Crete, Troy and Mycenae apart. As regards weapons and armour he does not think the Cretans used the sling, and he forgets that the dating of the bronze weapons from the Arkalochori cave does not depend upon any stratigraphical evidence at all, and that in fact they have no date. More surprising still, he denies Mycenae any metallurgical independence even in L.H. III. His account of early house types is not very clear. He quotes the Melos pyxis as evidence; it is really high time that no further use should be made of this object in such a connexion, as it is quite valueless as evidence of early house plans. He discerns the *ovolo* and its religious influence in Minoan plans, not a convincing idea. But he doubts quite rightly the favourite theory that rectangular houses developed through oval and round huts, as the Orchomenos evidence is quite insufficient on this point. He says that stucco pavements were the rule in the first palace at Knossos, being succeeded by gypsum in the second, entirely forgetting the stucco pavement of the Throne Room. He assumes with no evidence to support him that a gable roof was the practice at Mycenae, and seems very much confused over the dating of the palaces here and at Tiryns, where he dates the palace, which is really L.H. III., at 1600 B.C. He seems to think that a Cretan architect who worked at Knossos or Phaistos before 1400 could also have worked at Tiryns about 1350 B.C., and never for a moment considers that the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae may have grown and developed just like the Cretan palaces. He cannot have seen Tiryns lately or he would never have described it as *l'été sur la terrasse supérieure d'une colline escarpée comme un nid d'aigle*.

His account of social organisation and government is, of course, not based on any direct evidence, but merely on his interpretation of the archaeological discoveries. His idea of the clan basis of society is ingenious but not convincing, and in general this part of the book reminds one of the pleasant fancies of Professor Myers. He seems to think the neolithic people cultivated nothing, which is in contradiction to the evidence of the Thessalian sites. He does not seem to know that the rakia oak grows in Laconia, in Attica, in some of the islands, and elsewhere in Southern Greece. He says that the shepherds migrate to the hills after an early harvest; this is incorrect, for shepherds move to the hills about St. George's Day, which is long before the earliest possible harvest.

The chapter on industry is much too long in proportion to other sections of the book, and he here repeats the mistake about the Arkalochori cave, which had no stratification, and consequently none of the objects found in it can be dated by the circumstances of their discovery. He dates the late L.H. III. vase from the Messenian Pylos with a ship on it far too early, for he imagines it to represent one of the ships which first brought the Cretans to that district. He makes too little in his chapter on commerce of the objects actually found, but is too ready, for instance, to recognise as Cycladic imports the vases of Cycladic type found in Euboea, and is not correct in saying that Cycladic vases were found at Manteia in Phocia. Similarly, he talks incorrectly of a lower city at Mycenae: the lower city is not Mycenaean, but Hellenistic. The 'Palace style' vases from Vaphio are not of Cretan fabric as he states, and he is inclined to believe all pottery found at Mycenae to be imported from Crete.

He is surely in error in thinking all two-handled cups Trojan, and his account of Cretan influence in Rhodes and Cyprus is over-stated and should be revised, especially in view of the recently deciphered Hittite tablets telling of 'Achaean' activity in that region (if the decipherment is indeed accurate). He seems to place the Asiatic Olympus

just north of Miletus, and many of his remarks about international relations seem hardly justified by the evidence. He places the Trojan war about 1280 B.C., a century too early according to the traditional dates.

The sections dealing with religion are in many ways the most satisfactory in the book, although he does not see eye to eye with Sir A. Evans in many points; for instance, he believes the double axe to be a male divinity. In dealing with the cult of the dead and the different methods of burial he seems to disregard the archaeological dates of the tombs found, which rather stifles his deductions. He fancies the types of tombs changed as clan gave place to family in social organisation. He says the Treasury of Minyas is cut *en plein roc*, forgets that the Royal Tomb at Isopata is later in date than the earliest tholos at Mycenae, and that there are only two built vaulted tombs at Isopata. His suggestions about human sacrifices have no good archaeological evidence to support them. He treats two Early Cycladic marble figurines from Keros as contemporary with the H. Triada sarcophagus, which is of L.M. III. date; but he gives a good account of *les jeuz*.

His account of the arts suffers from compression, poor illustrations and insufficient acquaintance with the original objects, especially as regards the pottery. He accepts as Mycenaean the two fragmentary reliefs in the British Museum, the provenance and attribution of which are extremely uncertain. He dates the shaft graves of Mycenae to M.M. III., and believes that in the Early Cycladic period the Cyclades were dependent on Crete, and does not take into consideration the possibility of the multiple origin of the various categories of pottery of the early Bronze Age. He thinks the mainland had relations with Crete only by way of the Cyclades, and regards the mainland potters—potters who had made Minyan ware!—as incompetent, and this according to him explains why Cretan pottery had to be imported wholesale to the mainland. He is much more reasonable in pointing out that potters, who trained the mainland workers, were far more likely to be imported than an unlimited supply of pots. The vase in Fig. 84 is not of Cretan, but of mainland fabric.

The discussion of the script and language is on the whole adequate, as is also the account of the passing of the Bronze Age civilisation. Here he rightly emphasises the fact that the Aegean culture was the mother of the greatness of classical Greece, and it is refreshing to see that he believes in Homer and in the Catalogue of Ships.

One hopes that a second edition of this book may soon be called for, and that M. Glotz may then be enabled to revise it in Greece and Crete.

A. J. R. W.

A Classified Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, and Maps in the Library of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and Roman Studies.

Pp. 371 + 336. 10½ x 7½. Macmillan & Co., 1924. Price 15s. (6 numbers, 7s. 6d.).

On the point of going to press we have received from the publishers a copy of this new classified catalogue of books in the Libraries of the Joint Societies. As it is an unofficial publication, we trust we shall not be considered lacking in good taste in bringing to the notice of our readers this monument of the Librarian's zeal and private liberality.

In his preface to the work Mr. A. H. Smith points out that the first catalogue of the Library occupied eight small octavo pages of the *Journal*; the second (in 1903), 98 large octavo pages; and we now have a goodly volume of 336 pages of the *latine format*, comprising 8000 entries. Mr. Pomroy has been well advised in making this a subject catalogue, not alphabetical, as it serves as a remarkably complete guide to current classical literature, and is, in fact, the first instance of such an attempt at a classified index of the kind being made. This can only increase its usefulness, and may assist members and others to fill in any gaps that may yet be apparent.

Perhaps the most useful feature of the new catalogue is the key to the arrangement of the sections, which is thoughtfully printed on a folding sheet, so that the reader can always keep it in view while using the book, without perpetual turning of pages. It shows us that the arrangement adopted (roughly following the classification of Burdian's *Bibliotheca*

Philologia Classica is under 35 main headings, numbered consecutively. Of these, Nos. 1-5 are devoted to Periodicals, Opuscula, and Works of Reference; 6-7 to Greek and Latin authors and Collected Works; 8-9 to Grammar, Literary History, and Philosophy; 10-11 to Pre-Hellenic Archaeology and Foreign Contacts; 12-19 to History and Topography; 20-24 to Antiquities; 25-32 to Art; 33-35 to Coins, Inscriptions, and Papyri.

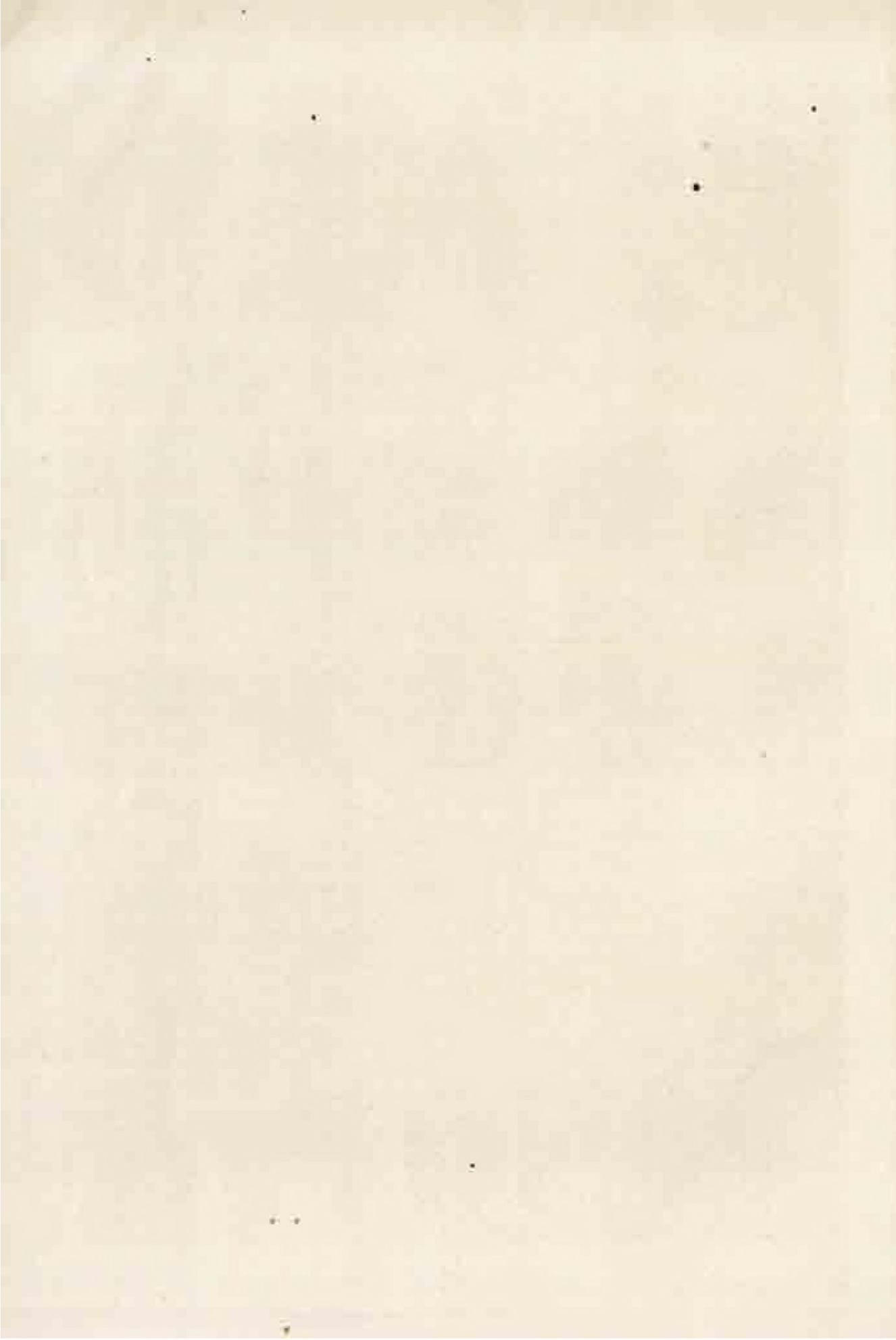
This arrangement would seem to be generally acceptable, unless some might regret that prehistoric remains such as pottery are dissociated from the corresponding branches of art of later periods. But there is more to be said for reserving a separate section for all aspects of prehistoric civilisation. Anyway the book is a remarkably easy one to find one's way about, and from a bibliographical point of view the individual entries are a model of conciseness and clearness. We have not so far noticed any misprints or errors, except that in line 9 of page 36 the publisher's name has not been inserted.

Mr. Pennyre, whose modesty has restrained him from placing his name on the title-page, deserves the heartiest thanks and congratulations of all members of the two Societies, and also of a wider public.

H. B. W.



HEAD OF ASCLEPIOS AT MOSCOW



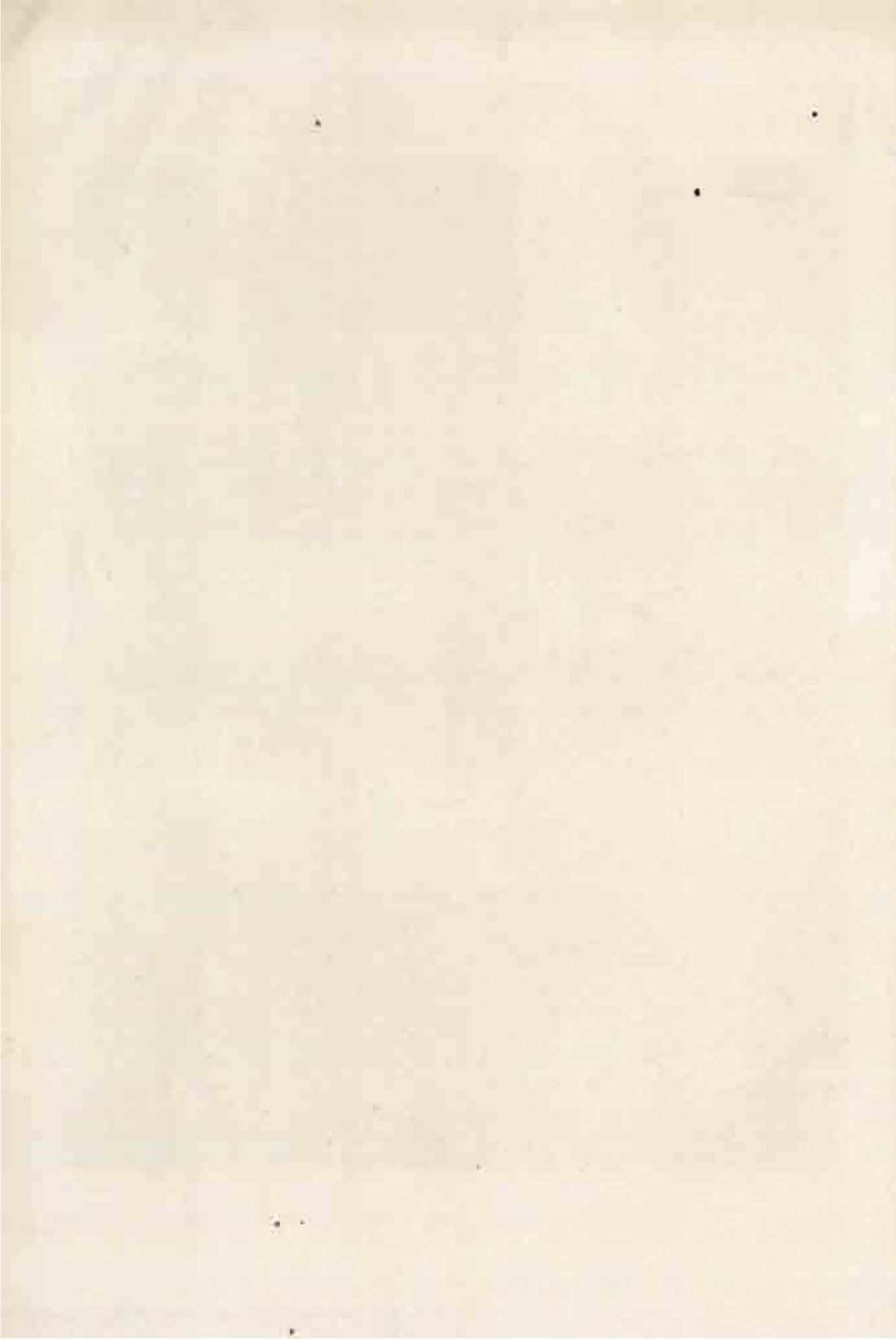


NAVE OF THE BASILICA OF THE PORTA MAGGIORE





CEILING OF THE NAVE OF THE PORTA MAGGIORE BASILICA





THE RELIEF OF THE APSE OF THE PORTA MAGGIORE BASILICA



THE POLITICAL STANDING OF DELOS

IN this paper I am considering two things; the position of Delos as a 'holy place,' and the rules of the practice among Greek cities with regard to the grant of a *τέρας* or site for a stela. From these it follows automatically that the somewhat fashionable dogma of the 'neutrality' of Delos is not only (on our present materials) untrue, but is impossible.—it has no chance whatever of being true. It is strange that it should have gained the acceptance it has without any examination of its foundations ever having been made;¹ however, this is so, and it presents rather a striking instance of the effect of mere repetition. Its importance, of course, consists in this, that, if it were true, then the festivals, etc., at Delos can never have any political meaning and we lose our only sure basis for the chronology of the middle of the third century. If this were necessary, one would naturally accept the consequences; the necessity, however, is in fact the other way. I am not going through what others have written; but I have borne in mind Professor Kolbe's argument for Delian neutrality in his drastic reconstruction of this period,² a reconstruction which is ingenious, but is unfortunately based on other unsound hypotheses beside the Delian;³ and I shall notice in their place the four inscriptions with regard to the grant of a site on which he relied as exceptional, but which are really simple illustrations of well-established practice. I am dealing with that practice at some length, as I hope it may possess some interest of its own apart from the theme of this paper, seeing that the rules have never been formulated; but I was glad to find that Professor Wilhelm, who has done so much to elucidate the machinery of setting up decrees, in the two pages which he has incidentally given to the subject,⁴ at once noticed what I take to be the important matter, viz. that a question of interstate *courtesy* is involved.

A.—Holy place and neutral place

Every Greek city owned one or more *hiéra* or 'holy places,' a *hieron* being a religious precinct (*τέμενος*) in which stood one or more temples; the *hieron*

¹ König's dissertation, *Der Bund der Neaiiden* (1911), which is usually cited, made no attempt to get to the root of the matter. For his arguments see my *Antiquities of Cos*, A (p. iv); I am not going over old ground.

² G.G.A. 1916, pp. 432-475; see p. 452 *seq.* Franklin Frazar's dissertation, *Die J.H.S.—VOL. XLIV.*

ersten Ptolemäer und Orieuchendaut, 1917, and Schöck's article in *Neue Jahrb.* 1923, p. 77, merely reproduce Kolbe in the material parts.

³ The Delphic hypothesis has been refuted by Pautier, *Klio*, 16, 1920, p. 444. See further n. 29.

⁴ *Neue Beitrüge*, 9, 1921, p. 30. See n. 42.

and its soil belonged to the people of the city. One of the qualities of a hieron was that you might not carry war into it or sack it;⁵ this law might occasionally be broken, but the law itself was clear. Thucydides also gives the invaluable statement that it was law among the Greeks that the hieron passed with its city; if some foreign power conquered or became ruler of the city, it *ipso facto* acquired possession of the city's hieron.⁶ A 'holy place,' therefore, though immune from war, could be under the dominion or control of a foreign power; and there are many instances of this,—the Athenian control and administration of the Delian temples in the fifth, fourth, and second centuries, and of the Amphiarcaum at Oropus at the end of the fourth, the Aetolian control of the Delphic hieron in the third century, and so on.

The fact that, in international law, a hieron was immune from war led to the question, was it not possible to extend this immunity beyond the temple precincts? When Croesus besieged Ephesus (Herod. 1, 26), the Ephesians dedicated the city to Artemis by chaining it to her temple; the idea was to extend the temple quality over the whole city and make it a 'holy place,' on the off-chance that Croesus might shrink from attacking it. In the third and second centuries a number of cities succeeded in getting themselves and their territories recognised as 'holy places' by as many states as they could,⁷ in an attempt to secure themselves from the ravages of war. But the extension of the temple quality to a whole city could not of course put the city in any better position than the temple itself, the original 'holy place'; it became immune (in theory) from the ravages of war, but it was at the same time subject to the law which Thucydides states: the 'holy place' could be owned or ruled by another, and a city which became 'holy' did not thereby become immune from being ruled by a foreign power.

By the fourth century it was believed that there were certain cities and territories in Greece which had been 'holy' from olden time. Ephorus described Elis as such a city; ⁸ the points to notice in his account are that Elis was definitely *made* 'holy' by the Greek states, that it was immune from war, that it was originally unwallled, and that the penalty for an attack on it was entirely religious,—the assailant became *εραγγίς*, accursed. Modern historians treat the whole thing as an invention,⁹ though there is no reason why Elis should not once have made an attempt to get itself recognised as 'holy,' as many cities did later; but the important matter is that, whether true or not in fact, Ephorus had the idea of such a thing in his head. Strabo's account (9, 413) of Alakomenae—his authority is unfortunately unknown—

⁵ Thuc. 4, 97; Polyb. 5, 9.

⁶ 4, 98: *ὅτι δὲ ἅπαντες τοὺς Ἑλλήους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἑστῶτος ἔστιν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ πόλεις.*

⁷ Well-known cases are: Smyrna (c. 242-238), *O.G.I.* 228, 229; Magnesia on the Maeander, 221/0, a mass of decrees in *I. Magnesia; Alakomenae* (c. 206-202), *O.G.I.* 234; Teos, c. 203; Michel, 52 to 68; Miletus (c. end third to early second

century), Herzog in *Ber. Sitzb.* 1905, p. 979, see *Syll.* 3 487; Cyzicus (same period), *Syll.* 3 1158; Seleucia in Pieria (before 138/7), *O.G.I.* 257 and *passim*. I am not of course talking about *ἁγία*, which was a different matter altogether.

⁸ Strabo, 8, 537-8; Diod. 8, 1; cf. Polyb. 4, 73 *seq.*

⁹ Hmolt, *l.c.* p. 613 n. 1; Meyer, *Forschungen*, 1, p. 242 n. 1; *Neubohls, Elis in Pauly-Wissowa*.

takes us a little further: it had been 'holy' from time immemorial, i.e. from before Homer. Somebody then in the Greek world had the idea of a city which, like a temple, had always been a 'holy place.' Of course this religious quality, true or false, did not affect the city's political life; Elis' history is that of any Greek city, and Alalcomene was probably an ordinary subject town of Haliartus¹⁰ and was certainly not left out of the Boeotian League. It did, however, apparently happen, as a fact, that both their territories were for long never ravaged; this might or might not have been due to chance.

Now there is no doubt that the tiny island of Delos, which held a special position in religious life as being the birthplace of Apollo, was for centuries considered a 'holy place.' In the sixth century Polycrates had tried to consecrate Rheneia by cloning it to Delos (Thuc. 3. 104); consequently the whole island of Delos was considered holy. For the fifth century we again have the evidence of Thucydides.¹¹ In the third century Callimachus' Hymn to Delos calls it the most holy of islands: it is immune from war, and needs no walls, for its wall is Apollo.¹² (Note Ephorus' point about Elis being unwall'd.) Lastly, for the second century, Livy (doubtless from Polybius) states the position very accurately: ¹³ the island is holy and immune from the operations of war. Delos then was a holy place from the sixth to the second century; possibly tradition made it so from time immemorial, i.e. from the birth of Apollo, though the Homeric Hymn is silent on the point. As a holy place, Delos was in law immune from being attacked or sacked; but laws were not always observed, especially by privateersmen, and when about 251 Aetolia gave Delos a guarantee of security, ἀσφάλεια,¹⁴ such as she afterwards gave to purely secular places like Mytilene, Ceos, and Chios,¹⁵ I imagine the Delians welcomed an express statement that Aetolia had ordered her privateers to observe international law; though possibly the guarantee refers only to private war, σῶλα,¹⁶ for Delos was never ἀσάλας.¹⁷ But as a holy place Delos was also subject to the law stated by Thucydides: she could be owned or ruled by a foreign power; and in fact for more than a century prior to 315 she was ruled by Athens,¹⁸ who not only administered the temples, but exiled the people,

¹⁰ Symbola, *Stammbuchwesen*, p. 257.

¹¹ 8. 1: The Athenians expel the Delians from Delos because they are not (as they ought to be) *κατὰ τὴν πόλιν*—i.e. the whole people.

¹² l. 23. κρίει τις (other critics) *εὐργυνε* *σεμνότητιν αὐτῆς*.

ἀλλὰ τ' Ἀπόλλων τὴν δὲ πρὸ
βουλήν τινος;

253. καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεὲς ἐγχεῖνται ἄλλοι
αἵματι.

καὶ τὸ, 'Ἀπόλλωνος σεμνότητιν
αὐτῆς' ἐκείνη.

καὶ Ἀθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλ' (scilicet) *ἐκείνη* *ἄλλοι*
Ἀπῶν.

¹³ 44. 29: sanctitas templi ineluctabilem violatorem iustitiae omnes. Itaque pro-
mixti Romanique et Macedonum et
Romani navales scilicet in templo, insulatus

religione loci praesente, versabantur.

¹⁴ I.G. xi. 4, 1030; cf. xi. 2, 287 s. l. 80.

¹⁵ I.G. iii. 2, 15, 16; xii. 5, 526, 527; *Syll. 443. See Wilhelm, *Ep. Alex.* 1914, p. 84.*

¹⁶ Aetolia's guarantee (*Syll. 554) to another 'holy' city, Magnesia, certainly seems to refer to *σῶλα*. We have not the terms of the guarantee to Delos, which only mentions ἀσφάλεια.*

¹⁷ Stengel's statement to the contrary (i.e. 'saylor' in Pandy-Wisconsin) is a mistake; of his two references, Livy 44. 29 (see n. 13) refers to holiness, not *σῶλα*, and Livy 35. 51 refers to Delium, not Delos.

¹⁸ The facts are conveniently collected by Durrbach, *Chor. d'Inscriptions de Delos*, vol. i. fasc. I (1921), section 1.

forbade birth or burial on the island, and even repressed a revolt, which may have entailed what Callimachus says never happened, a visit of Ares to Apollo's island. Of the legality of Athenian rule over the holy island Athens and many others had no doubt;¹⁹ and when in 166 Athens asked Rome to give Delos back to her and Rome complied, Polybius (30, 20, 3) says that no one could blame Athens' action, and puts Delos on precisely the same footing as Lemnos. All this follows quite simply from Thucydides' law; it also follows that Delos could legally be ruled by other powers beside Athens—say Antigonus or Ptolemy.

There was no question, either, of a city that was a 'holy place' being debarred from political activity and relationships. Three instances may suffice. The great inscription of Smyrna, *O.G.I.* 229, shows that 'holy' city working heart and soul for Seleucus II, the ally of his ally, suffering loss and apparently invasion for her loyalty, and providing garrison commanders in the cause; it is too long to quote, but it exhibits excellently the political activities of a 'holy place.' Very similar are the relations of Seleucia in Pieria with Antiochus VIII Grypus, *O.G.I.* 257; moreover this city had an official worship of all the successive Seleucid kings, *O.G.I.* 245. It did not become 'free' till some considerable time after it became 'holy,'²⁰ that is, a 'holy' city could be and was under Seleucid suzerainty; similarly *O.G.I.* 228 shows that Smyrna would have remained subject to Seleucus II unless (as he did) he had released his suzerainty. All this is a simple exemplification of Thucydides' law, and shows once more that Delos, though holy, could be under Egyptian or Macedonian suzerainty. Lastly Magnesia, after it became 'holy,' was made by Aetolia a member of the Amphiktyonic League,²¹ a body then under Aetolian control; a close parallel to Delos' membership of the Island League. Note also that 'holiness' did not prevent Magnesia indulging in border warfare with Miletus (*Syll.*² 588), any more than it prevented the exiled Delians after 166 contemplating reprisals upon Athens, Polyb. 32, 7 (17).

The position of Delos as a 'holy place' is now clear; it was immune from war, though the only penalty on the transgressor was the wrath of the gods and condemnation by public opinion; but it could be ruled by another power and was not debarred from ordinary political activities and relationships. The claim that it possessed a sort of permanent political neutrality is merely a product of confused thinking. It was started by Niese's unfortunate suggestion 'dass Delos für alle war ein *sanctus rēgēs*' (ii. 131, n. 4); he seems to have coined the phrase himself²² to express political neutrality, and his pupil König (*op. cit.* p. 59) so interprets it. Niese's reason was that he could get no clear idea of the dates of the kings' offerings on Delos, and concluded therefore that they could have no political meaning; and his dictum has continued

¹⁹ Athens even accepted arbitration on the subject; to this belongs Hyperides' Delian oration. See Tod, *International Arbitration*, 1913, p. 133.

²⁰ Its coins show it was holy by 133/7; Grypus, who freed it (*O.G.I.* 257, l. 14),

began to reign 125.

²¹ *O.G.I.* 234, *Syll.*² 554, 598.

²² It does not seem to occur either in inscriptions or in literature, except as a 'commonplace' in rhetoric.

to be quoted long after the reason which prompted it has vanished, the dates being now clear enough. Permanent political neutrality can only mean something like Belgium in 1914: that Delos could not be ruled, directly or indirectly, by another state, and could not enter into political alliances or combinations. This certainly expresses König's meaning, and I think Kolbe's, though he is not always consistent.

Now the juridical conception of permanent political neutrality was entirely unknown to Greeks; there is no trace of it in their literature or inscriptions, and there is no word or phrase for it in their language. They knew of two things only: the quality of a 'holy place,' and (of course) neutrality *ad hoc* in a particular war; the known phrases for this are *οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἑτέραν* (with variants), to take sides with neither; *ἀουχάζειν*, to keep out of it; *οἱ διὰ μέσον*, to occupy an intermediate position; and *φιλία καὶ εὖνοια πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους*, to be friends of both. None of this has any bearing on the conception of a permanent political neutrality; and had anyone attempted to explain to a Greek an idea so strange to him, his mind (like the text-book writers when they discuss neutrality),²³ would certainly have taken refuge in the idea of a 'holy place' and immunity from war. If then Delos really possessed this strange quality of permanent political neutrality, and was thus unique in the Greek world, the fact must have excited remark; for example, Polybius (30, 20) was absolutely bound to explain how his statement that no one could blame Athens for requesting that Delos should be given back to her could be reconciled with Delos' permanent neutrality, exactly as in the same chapter he does explain why Athens' similar request for Halicarnassus was unjust: he does not, however, allude to the matter, and very naturally, for he could hardly explain a thing of which he had never heard and which did not exist.²⁴ But apart from this, how did Delos acquire this quality, which she certainly did not possess during the first Athenian domination? It was certainly not through Antigonus I proclaiming Delos neutral in 314; for we know what he proclaimed, and in any case his numerous enemies would never have accepted it. It could only have come about by Delos proclaiming herself neutral in or after 314, which would have involved sending envoys all over the Hellenic world to get the claim recognised by the various cities and dynasts, as a city did when she proclaimed herself 'holy.' Suppose that she did, and that they did recognise it.²⁵ Then the hieron at Delos would have been crowded with the stelae of the cities recognising it; consider the enormous number of decrees found at Magnesia and Teos,²⁶ recognising the claim of these cities to be *ἱεραὶ καὶ ἀστυαὶ*. Yet in all the vast mass of documents found at Delos there is no trace of such a thing, which is conclusive. It really seems

²³ See e.g. the section on neutralisation in Philippson, *The international law and custom of ancient Greece and Rome* (1911), 2, p. 301, with the authorities there cited.

²⁴ Polybius' statement is alone perfectly conclusive against permanent neutrality. Kolbe adds to notes the passage.

²⁵ Not a foregone conclusion; a king

might reserve his assent. There is nothing, e.g., in *J. Magnesia*, 19 or 23, to show that Antiochus or Ptolemy accepted the 'holiness' of Magnesia.

²⁶ Those at Teos had been plundered, and were collected from neighbouring villages.

absurd to ask people to believe, without one bit of direct evidence, that Delos was a unique example, translated into fact, of a juridical conception which was entirely unknown to the Greek mind and for which there is no word or phrase in the Greek language.

For direct evidence is entirely lacking. The second-century Delian decree for the Rhodian admiral Epicrates, *I.G.* xi. 4, 751, has been cited; but Epicrates' order (if the restoration be correct) that his privateers were not to use Delos as a base is merely a simple case of respect for the immunity from war of a 'holy place' which was *not* at the time either Rhodes' ally or in the Island League; it is a parallel to Livy 44, 29, quoted above. There is nothing here referring to permanent political neutrality; the *appeal* of the Delian people was (very naturally) to maintain their privilege of immunity from war. It has also been argued that the mix-up in the offerings of Ptolemy III and Gonatas on Delos shews that there cannot have been any political control; but this cannot bear on permanent neutrality; the most it could shew is that neither king was strong enough to obtain control *de facto* as against the other. But in reality there is no such mix-up in the offerings of these kings. All the Ptolemy III material—the 3rd Ptolemaieia, the statue erected to him in 246,²⁷ the decree for Sosibius²⁸ (*I.G.* xl. 4, 631 belongs to Ptolemy II),—belongs to his accession: from his accession in 246 to the battle of Andros,²⁹ 245, he was sovereign of Delos; after Andros his name never occurs.

On the other hand there is plenty of evidence which does bear on Delos' political relationships. In *I.G.* xi. 2, 146 A. l. 76, Demetrius I is alluded to as 'the king' without his name; he was therefore king in relation to Delos.—The Delian decree for Dikaios *ἐταγμέν[ος ἐπὶ τῶν] βασιλείᾳ Πτολεμαίου* (*I.G.* xi. 4, 631; between 300-230, Roussel), as it does not mention the sphere of this Ptolemaic official, shews that his sphere has some relation to the city passing the decree, Delos.—Very important is the Delian decree *I.G.* xi. 4, 666, praising Aristobulus, sent to Delos as *αἰτῶν* by Demetrius II, because *πᾶσαν σπουδὴν [πεποιήται περὶ τῶν] συμβεβηκότων τῷ τε ἱερῷ* (*ἱερῷ* restored from a previous line) *καὶ τῷ βασιλ[εὶ καὶ τῷ] δήμ[ω] τῶν Δη[λίων]*; if in Delian eyes the interests of Demetrius II and Delos were identical, what

²⁷ *I.G.* xi. 3, 290, l. 130; see Durrbach, *Chios*, fasc. I, p. 43, *sur les sceaux des ἱερῶν* as *ἱερῶν* [δὲ τῶν βασιλείᾳ Πτολεμαίου, Eudocites' year, 246. Through the kindness of Professor Durrbach I have seen the whole passage; the restoration is certain.

²⁸ *I.G.* xi. 4, 694; before 246, Haléaux, *R.E.A.* 1912, p. 370. See further Zeno Papyri, 63, and Thomson Edgar, *Annales du service des out. de l'Égypte*, 21, 1921, p. 91 n. 1, and Rostovtzeff, *A large estate in Egypt* (1922), p. 181.

²⁹ Andros, not Cos and Andros. I incline now to return to the Beloch-Fergusson date for Cos, i.e. somewhere in the obscure

war which lies between the paces of 261 and 255, and probably near its end; though the difficulties I felt before still remain. Kolbe's date, c. 200, may not therefore be far out in itself, but he gets it from Rein's placing of the Miletus documents I, *Delphinium*, 139, which can hardly stand, for both scholars have overlooked the inscription, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie*, 8 (1908), p. 110, no. 1, which *prima facie* puts that important set of documents much earlier. They require to be examined again in the light of all the evidence, especially that which dates Callimachus, which I gave, *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 254; see *Syll.*³ 429.

place is there for talk about 'neutrality'? It is a parallel to the identity of interest between another 'holy place,' Smyrna, and Seleucus II, already alluded to.—*I.G.* xi. 4, 756 shows that during the war with Antiochus III Delos was Rome's *amicus*.—The dedications made by Dositheos and Philip V from the spoils of the Cleomeneic and Social wars (*I.G.* xi. 4, 1097 and 1100) may also be in point, though I doubt now if by themselves they prove much; *valent quantum*.—Lastly comes the fact which, on present materials, is quite certain, that Delos was a member of the third century League of the Islanders.²⁰ This question depends entirely on the practice with regard to the grant of a site; to this I now turn.

B.—*The practice in granting a τόπος or site.*

An independent city was absolute owner of its hieron, unless (as occasionally happened) it had sold it, as Gythion sold a temple to two citizens with a proviso that their descendants should be the priests and own the hieron for ever (*I.G.* v. 1, 1144).²¹ As regards its own hieron, therefore, an independent city did as it pleased;²² and if it desired to set up a stele or statue there, it could say exactly where it was to be put, i.e. it could select the particular site itself, just as it could do in the case of its own secular ground, like the agora. By a 'particular' site I mean a site whose position is accurately defined, generally as being next to some other object—some statue, stele, altar, etc.—as opposed to a 'general' site, a mere indication of *some* location in the city or its hieron, leaving the particular site, the exact position, to be determined; it will appear that the distinction is vital. (The phrase 'before the temple of so-and-so' perhaps hardly denotes a particular site, as there might be many steles before a temple; but nothing turns on this and I will take it as a particular site.) There are many cases of a city thus selecting a particular site in its own hieron.²³ Often, however, the particular site was not named by the city in its decree, but was left to be chosen by the magistrates

²⁰ On this question I have the advantage of a careful statement by Professor Roussel, *R.C.H.*, 1911, p. 441, who gives everything that can be urged against Delos being a member. I need hardly notice König's strange argument, that Delos could not be in the Island League because Delphi was not in the Aetolian, which Kolbe cites (with the Epistates' decree) as the two positive proofs that Delos was neutral. Whether Delphi was in the Aetolian League or not (Suetoboda, *Saunders*, p. 236, argues she was, but I cannot agree), Aetolia sometimes governed her through an epistates, and she has therefore no possible bearing on 'neutrality.' The real questions are that the Island League stands to Delos as the Amphiktyonia to Delphi, while

Aetolia at Delphi plays the same part as Macedonia or Egypt at Delos.

²¹ Hence if Gythion wanted a site in this temple it had to ask the owners, the priests (*I.G.* v. 1, 1144 = *Syll.*² 746), a proceeding which would be unintelligible did we not know of the sale.

²² Members of the city, like *demoi*, also owned their local hiera, and show the same practice as cities. I omit these here, though the Rhodian *demoi* are interesting.

²³ *I.G.* ii.² 34, 140, 212, 442, 643 (Athens); vii. 298 (Oropos); *Syll.*² 614, 618, 637, 671, 698 A, 711 A, *Klio*, 13, 24, no. 47 (Delphi); *Syll.*² 678 (Magnesia), 700 (Clarus), 426 (Bargyia), 282 and Michel 481 (Priene), M. 326 (Gambroion), 546 (Anisa).

whose business it was to set up the stele.³⁴ Often too the decree gave permission to the recipient of the honour, whether a city or an individual, to select his particular site,³⁵ in which case no doubt he settled the position with the proper magistrates.³⁶ This permission to select a particular site was occasionally given to others on behalf of the recipient; thus at Athens, when an official of the *πορταῖς* was honoured, the *πορταῖς* were allowed to select the site;³⁷ and at Olbia (*Syll.*² 730) we find permission given to the relatives of a recipient who was dead. A corollary of allowing a recipient to choose his particular site was that, very occasionally, a citizen asked his own city for a particular site for some special purpose. I have only found two cases. At Calymna (*G.D.I.* 3569) a citizen who desired to adorn the hieron of Apollo asks for a site adjoining the theatre in the hieron on which to build a stage and proscenium; naturally there was only one site possible. At Cyzicus (Michel 537) a body of priestesses ask leave to set up the statue of one of their number among her family statues in the agora and on the west side of her brother's; evidently a case of a leading family which had established a kind of prescriptive claim to one corner of the agora. (The Anaphic inscription *I.G.* xii. 3, 248 relates only to a general site; a citizen in pursuance of an oracle asks for a site somewhere in the hieron to build a temple which he intends to present to the people.) Having regard to what follows, it will be noticed that the Calymna and Cyzicus inscriptions deal with purely domestic matters, involving no questions as between different cities.

I come now to the practice where two or more cities are involved; here I omit treaties, which each city set up as of course, and arbitration awards, which were set up as of course by the parties and the arbitrating city, and consider only honorary decrees or grants, a decree passed or statue granted by one city which it wanted to set up in another. First, the case of two cities independent of each other. As a city owned its hieron, it follows that if city A wanted to set up a stele or statue in the hieron of city B, A had to ask B to grant to it for that purpose a bit of the soil of B's hieron as a site. (Delos of course when free had to be asked to grant a site exactly like any other autonomous city).³⁸ The decree of A might merely ask B for a site in general terms; this, however, is not very usual.³⁹ Much more common is a request for a site in a particular hieron;⁴⁰ usually of course the hieron named is

³⁴ *I.G.* xii. 303, 412, 2846; *Syll.*² 725; *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* 1, 132. See generally Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, 6, 1921, p. 63, with the reconstructed decree of Erythrae, p. 68.

³⁵ *I.G.* ii.² 450, 1041; vii. 190; xii. 3, 170, 249; xii. 3, 129, 604; xii. 7, 23, 24, 229, 231; *Syll.*² 126, 731; *O.G.I.* 4; Michel, 544; *I. Magnesia*, 94; *Arch. Mit.* 1907, p. 243, no. 4. In *O.G.I.* 222 the Ionian League requests Antiochus I to select the site for his *ναῖος*.

³⁶ *O.G.I.* 213 is a case.

³⁷ *I.G.* ii.² 1048, 1049.

³⁸ *I.G.* xi. 4, 1022, 1023, 1027, 1034, 1055 (period of freedom); Durrbach, *Choix*, no. 8 (during Delos' brief independence after the Peloponnesian war).

³⁹ Instances are *C.I.G.* 2909; *I. Priene*, 47, 50, 63; *I. Magnesia*, 90; Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, p. 57, no. 13.

⁴⁰ *I.G.* vii. 4131; xi. 4, 1054, 1055; *Syll.*² 731, 711 L, 562; *G.D.I.* 8089, 3610, 5104 (xiii.); Michel, 455, 457; *I. Priene*, 57, 59; Paton and Hicks, *I. Cos*, no. 14; *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, no. 120; 'Ep. 'Aox. 1914, p. 180, no. 240.

that in which B generally set up its decrees,⁴¹ though some other hieron might be selected for a special reason, as that of Asclepius if a physician was being honoured, or that of Dionysus if it were the Dionysiac artists. But for the commonest form was a request for τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον (or some variant of the phrase),⁴² which may be translated 'please do your best for us.' Every phrase used is a request for a *general* site, and every phrase equally leaves it in the hands of B exactly where to put the stele; and this is of course what interstate courtesy demanded.⁴³ For if A, instead of leaving it to B, had asked B for a *particular* site for its stele, B might have been gravely embarrassed. Some cities had definite laws regulating the erection and position of steles;⁴⁴ others had sites that were not allowed to be occupied.⁴⁵ These things might be known to the petitioning city; but it could hardly know every detail of every other city's hieron; a request for a particular site might interfere with some other ἀνάθημα,⁴⁶ or even, if to be carried out, necessitate its removal.⁴⁷ Above all, the petitioning city could not know whether a certain site might not already be reserved for some one else,⁴⁸ or earmarked for some more important object. The courtesies of State intercourse forbade that B should be embarrassed in this fashion. Consequently, so far as I know,⁴⁹ we never find—and this is of the first importance—that A in its decree asks B for a *particular* site. Naturally, with many decrees still under the ground, one cannot actually prove a negative; but one must argue from what is known.

The furthest any decree goes in this direction is one of Minoa in Amorgos for Critolaus (*I.G.* xii, 7, 388), who was a leading citizen of Aegiale; he had built

⁴¹ It was the practice at Ephesus to mention explicitly that the Artemision was their record-office, *Syll. 352, 353, 354. The requests to Magnesia for a place in the stoa, i.e. the building in the agora where so many of the extant decrees were found (*I. Magnesia*, 64, 67, cf. 101), show that this building was well known as one of their record offices. Samothrace adopted the cautious practice of asking for a site *ἐν τῷ τῶν λέγων*; *I. Priene*, 68, 70; Michel, 352.*

⁴² *Universal. I.G.* vii, 16, 20, 21, 4130; v, 1, 1422; xii, 2, 17; xii, 3, 1672; *Syll. 656, 1158; Michel, 357, 462, 514; *I. Magnesia*, 15, 97, 101; *I. Priene*, 57, 61, 71, 77; *I. Delphinion*, 152, 152a, 153; *O.G.I.* 437, and 345 + *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 471; *B.C.H.* 1913, p. 122, no. 39; Herzog, *Kaische Forschungen und Funde*, no. 190. Variants are *I.G.* xi, 4, 665, 1027; Michel, 477; *Arch. f. Papirgef.* 6, 1920, p. 9.*

⁴³ Cf. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, 6, p. 31: Dagegen wird die Bezeichnung des Platzes, an dem in einer anderen Stadt eine Stele errichtet werden soll, möglichst aus dieser ablassen. (My italics.)

⁴⁴ Athens, *I.G.* ii, 1006, l. 96, 1008, l. 72, 1009, l. 57; Sparta, *I.G.* v, 1, 5; Epidauros Limera, *ib.* 932; Miletus, *Syll. 330, no. 5; Smyrna, *O.G.I.* 229, l. 30. See generally Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 261 seq.*

⁴⁵ As at Athens nothing could be set up near the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, *I.G.* ii, 450, 940. An exception was made for the statues of Antigonus I and Demetrius.

⁴⁶ Cf. *I.G.* xii, 5, 129 (Paros), where a choice is given ἀλλὰ βέλτερον[τα] τῶν ἀνθίσταται. See Wilhelm in *Festschrift für Otto Brendel*, p. 247.

⁴⁷ Cf. *I. Pergamon*, 256, where the city moves an *ἀνάθημα* elsewhere to make room for a new statue.

⁴⁸ That a site could be reserved see *O.D.I.* 3059, Byzantium grants a site *ἐν τόπῳ ᾧ οὐδὲν ἔστιν*.

⁴⁹ I have tried to see every decree accessible to me, except some of the Athenian, where I have relied on indices. Naturally I have missed a certain number; I hope not too many.

and given to the people a temple there (*ib.* 433), and they had allowed him and his brother to choose the sites for their decrees of honour (*ib.* 389). Minon asks Aegiale to allow Critolaus to choose the site for Minon's decree for him. This is only a further compliment to a leading man, who may in any case have been one of the magistrates of Aegiale to whom the choice would normally be entrusted; it has no bearing on the question of interstate courtesy.

There is, however, a set of documents found at Kleitor (*I.G.* v. 2, 367, I., II., III., IV.), which, while they absolutely confirm the rule, might easily be misunderstood. Kleitor and Patrai have at the request of the Magnesians League sent dicasts to Demetrias, a city of the League, to compose some trouble, and the dicasts are being thanked by both the League and Demetrias. There were originally six documents: (a) a letter from the officials of the League to Kleitor, = I.; (b) a similar letter to Patrai (missing; not of course at Kleitor); (c) decrees of thanks of the League to both dicasts, = II.; (d) a letter from the officials of Demetrias to Kleitor, = III.; (e) a similar letter to Patrai (missing); (f) decree of thanks of Demetrias to both dicasts, = IV. Take the League documents, a, b, and c. The decree II. contains a direction for setting up ἐν Κλεϊτορί μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν Πάτραις δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. But this is not a request by the League to Patrai for a particular site, as at the first glance it might seem. The letter to Kleitor, I., which accompanied the copy of the decree sent to Kleitor, shows that the decree is merely quoting verbally what Kleitor had already arranged; the letter says ὑμεῖς καλῶς, καθότι καὶ τοῖς Μάγνησιν δέδοκται, προνοηθέντες ὅστε ὅπως . . . ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (note *προ-*). The missing letter to Patrai, which accompanied the copy of the decree sent to Patrai, must similarly have run ὑμεῖς . . . προνοηθέντες ὅστε ὅπως . . . ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα; for as the decree quotes what Kleitor had already arranged it must also be quoting what Patrai had already arranged, i.e. the particular site had already been selected by Patrai. (The Demetrias documents d, e, and f are similar and shew the same thing.) The matter is absolutely free from doubt, though the two letters to Patrai are still under the ground there.

The request for a general site made by A to B in its decree has next to be brought to B's notice. Usually A chose envoys, who took a copy of the decree to B, made a speech, and asked for a site; such envoys are mentioned in many decrees, while some even give a *précis* of the speech that the envoys are to make,²⁰ emphasising friendship, etc. Sometimes, however, to avoid the expense of envoys, a copy of the decree was sent by the next theoroi going that way,²¹ or by letter.²² But the fact that A usually sent envoys enabled A, if it wished, to leave the request for a general site to be made verbally by the envoys, and only to mention it in the decree in the abbreviated form (which I shall come to presently) of a mere direction that it shall be set up in B, or even not mention it in the decree at all. A decree of Mylasa, *I. Delphinion* 146, gives

²⁰ The fullest directions to envoys are given in *I. Priene*, 47, 50, 53, 54, 74, and *I. Delphinion*, 146.

²¹ *Syll.*³ 402, 538, 562.

²² *I.G.* vii. 4130, 4131; *G.D.I.* 3039; *B.C.H.* 1900, p. 74; *Ἐφ. Ἐφ.* 1914, p. 180, no. 240.

the envoys to Miletus long instructions, but says nothing about asking to have it set up; they did, however, ask, as it was found at Miletus. A decree of Samos, *Ath. Mita.* 1919, p. 21, no. 9, is very similar. A decree of Calymna for Iasos, Michel 417, goes further; it contains no word about envoys or setting up at Iasos, but Iasos' reply, Michel 462, shews that Calymnian envoys in fact went thither and made the usual request for τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον. Similarly a decree of some city for Syros, *I.G.* xi. 4, 1057, does not even mention Delos; but envoys must have taken it to Delos and asked for a site, as it was found there.⁵³ These considerations explain various small difficulties occasionally felt by editors of decrees.⁵⁴

The request for a general site made by A to B is normally followed by B passing a decree granting the site; and here it was of course necessary for B to grant a particular site, as a stele could only be in one place at once. Sometimes B did this by directing its proper magistrates to select a site⁵⁵—*id certum est quod certum reddi potest*; but we have several cases in which, A having asked for a general site, B's decree in reply itself grants a particular site, saying exactly where the stele is to be put. Instances are: *L. Priene* 53 = Michel 468, Iasos asks Priene for a site in whichever hieron Priene may select, and Priene's decree grants a site in the hieron of Athene Εἰμδέξια τῆς εἰκόρος τῆς Κώμου τοῦ Τιμῶκλειος; *L. Priene* 54, Iasos asks Priene for a site in the hieron of Athene Pollas, and Priene grants a site in the hieron [ἐγγὺς τῆς στ]ῆλης τῆς περιεχούσης τὰς παρὰ Χίων τιμὰς; Michel 451, Paros asks Cyzicus for a site in the agora, and Cyzicus grants one παρὰ τὰς τραπέζας πρὸ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς Δωρικῆς; *I.G.* xi. 4, 1055, Histiaea decrees the erection of a stele in the hieron of Apollo at Delos, τόπον αἰτησαμένους τὸ κοινὸν Δηλίων, and Delos (*ib.* 1025) in reply decrees δοῦναι τόπον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἰστιάεσιν ὃν αἰτοῦνται ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν εἰκόνων τῆς τε Ὀφελῆ—καὶ—Ἰκιδίος; *I.G.* xi. 4, 1022, Chios has asked Delos for a site in the hieron—ἐπεὶδὲ οἱ Χῖοι κ.τ.λ. [αἰτοῦνται] τόπον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ—and Delos decrees τὸν τε τόπον δοῦναι ὃν αἰτοῦν[ται] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔμπροσ[θε] τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος; the instances I have cited, and the recital of the Chian request in the preamble of the Delian decree, prove beyond any possibility of doubt that the translation of this last is 'as to the site they ask for in the hieron, we give it before the temple of Apollo,' and is not 'as to the site they ask for in the hieron before the temple of Apollo, we give it.' I have set out these instances at length, because Kolbe's argument for the neutrality of Delos rests on a misunderstanding of these two Delian decrees, which he thinks are exceptional and shew that Chios and Histiaea asked for particular sites; they are in fact two very ordinary cases of the practice here illustrated that A asks for a general site and B grants a particular one; we know exactly what Chios and Histiaea did ask for—a general site in the hieron.

⁵³ See on this decree Wilhelm, *Nene Beiräge*, 6, p. 4.

⁵⁴ E.g. the decree of Abdura, *B.C.H.* 1913, p. 125, on which see Holboell, *B.C.H.* 1914, p. 63, and Wilhelm, *op. cit.* p. 30.

⁵⁵ *G.D.I.* 3619; *J. Magnesia*, 15; *id.*

I.G. xi. 4, 1053. In the rare cases where the reply is a general grant of a site, like Durrbach, *Choix*, no. 9, no doubt it is understood that the magistrates are to see to it.

Surely I need not labour the point, which the Priene decrees make absolutely clear.

Now we have seen that the decree of A need not necessarily contain a direction to ask B for a site: it may, and often does, direct the magistrates of A *ἀναγράφειν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν* B, or *ἐν* B *εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεῖου*, leaving the actual request to be made by the envoys. Where A and B are cities independent of each other, this formula may be called a shortened form of request for a (general) site; this is certain, for we meet cases where the decree contains, together with this shortened form, a direction to send a copy to B.³⁶ This shortened formula is extremely common.

But the case is very different when A and B are not cities independent of each other; when A has control over, or governs, B. In this case the formula *ἀναθεῖναι ἐν* B is not, and obviously cannot be, a shortened form of request; it is an order, or direction as of right, given by one who has the power or the right to give it. It depends entirely on the relationship of the two cities; I refer again to Thucydides' law, he who controls the city controls the hieron. There are fortunately some indisputable cases of such an order being given. I.G. xii. 5. 480, from Siphnos (fifth century); Athens directs her confederate cities each to set up her decree; if they refuse, she will do it herself. I.G. ii.², 111 = Syll.³ 173 (363/2); Athens, after subduing Iulis' revolt, directs Iulis to set up her decree. I.G. ii.² 1 = Syll.³ 116; Athens in 405/4 directs her officials to set up her decree in Samos at the expense of the Samians. These three are obvious orders. I.G. xii. 5. 817, a decree of the second century League of the Islanders, which did not include Delos, contains a direction *ἀναθεῖναι* in Delos and Tenos; envoys are to be sent to ask Delos for a site, but there is no direction as to asking Tenos; consequently as to Tenos the formula is an order—*expressio unius exclusio alterius*. These four decrees exhibit every grade of order, from the definitely expressed order to the shortened formula I am considering. Other cases of this shortened formula being an order, which are quite certain, not from the language, but from the political position, are: Syll.³ 158 (369/8), where the Athenians control Delos and its hieron through their Amphiktyons, and would certainly not ask for anything; Syll.³ 682 (165/4), where the Athenian cleruchs are masters of Delos³⁷ and there are no Delians to ask; Syll.³ 281, 287, 298, where Athens is in possession of Oropus and managing the Amphiarœum and its festivals; and (probably) the various decrees of the Aetolian League directed to be set up at Delphi, which Aetolia governed. There are cases of a similar formula in kings' rescripts to cities under their control.³⁸

The decrees then which show this shortened form, a mere direction by A *ἀναθεῖναι ἐν* B, fall into two distinct classes; in class one, where A and B are mutually independent cities, it is a request; in class two, where A controls B in some form, it is an order, or direction as of right; and we can never say from the shortened formula alone which class the decree belongs to; we have to

³⁶ Syll.³ 538, I.G. IX. ii. 1105 (1); *ἰσὺν ἀναγράφειν* in Pauly-Wissowa (1921).
I. Magnesia, 80.

³⁷ Instances are O.G.J. 225, 266; I.

³⁸ On their organisation, etc., see Schult. Pergamon, 163.

know the political position of the two cities toward each other.⁵⁸ Consequently the discussion which has arisen over the use of this formula in the decrees of the third century League of the Islanders (*I.G.* xi. 4, 1036-1048), where it occurs regularly in the form *ἀναγγέψαι κ.τ.λ. τοὺς συνέδρους καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Δῷλοι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου*, is a mere beating of the air; we cannot say which class this formula belongs to, i.e. whether it be a request or an order, unless we know the political relations of the League and Delos, which is the very point at issue. Consequently this formula may for the present be left out of discussion; it is in itself consistent with Delos being or not being in the League.

This consideration disposes of the two decrees which Kolbe cites as proof that anyone could give Delos orders, and that therefore she was 'neutral' and not in the League; I do not think they would have been cited had the practice been understood. One is the tiny fragment *I.G.* xi. 4, 1058; both cities being unknown, no one can say if the formula be a request or an order. The other is the decree of Syros⁵⁹ directed to be set up at Delos (*I.G.* xi. 4, 1052, see Durrbach, *Choix*, no. 45), which is a simple case of the same very common shortened formula I have been considering, and is therefore, in itself, ambiguous; it could be either a request or an order according to circumstances. Now the same ambiguity occurs in two decrees of Chios (*Syll.*² 443, 579), which exhibit the same formula and are directed to be set up at Delphi, both Delphi and Chios being known to be members of the Amphiktyonic League. Whether therefore *I.G.* xi. 4, 1052 be a request or an order, it cannot prove that Delos was not in the Island League; otherwise the exactly parallel Chian decrees would prove that Delphi was not in the Amphiktyonic; which is absurd. In fact, however, it is quite certain that the ambiguous formula in *I.G.* xi. 4, 1052 is not an order, as Kolbe thinks and I once thought, but a request; for it was the practice for a member of a League to ask leave of the owner of the federal hieron if it wished to set up a decree there; see *C.I.G.* 2909, where Lebedos, a member of the Ionian League, explicitly asks the League, as owners of the Panionion (see n. 66) for a site there, which the League explicitly grants. This settles the matter.

To come now to the proof that Delos was a member of the third century, Island League. We have seen that, where A and B are mutually independent cities, A had to ask B for a general site, and you often find a shortened form of the request by A to B for a general site in the shape of a direction by A in its decree to set up the stele in B, implying that envoys from A were going to ask B for a general site. But we have also seen that A never asked B for a particular site; consequently you cannot find a shortened form of a request by A to B for a particular site, in the shape of a direction by A in its decree to set up the stele

⁵⁸ A good instance is the much discussed decree of Athens for King Pharnaces, set up at Delos, *I.G.* xi. 4, 1056; whether the formula be a request or an order depends on whether the decree be before or after 166, and not vice versa; its date must be ascertained *alioquin*.

⁵⁹ It is strange enough in another way; a long recital in the indicative mood follows the enacting words, and the verb then changes from indicative back to infinitive without warning. Is it quoting another document?

on a particular site in B. For this would imply that envoys from A were going to ask B for that particular site; and A never did ask B for a particular site. Consequently, when we find twice, in decrees of the Island League, directions that a stele shall be set up on a particular site in Delos, these directions are not, and cannot be, shortened forms of request implying that the League shall ask Delos for those particular sites; and if they are not requests and do not belong to class one, there is only one other thing they can be; they belong to class two, and are orders, or directions as of right; that is, the League and Delos were not mutually independent States. In the first decree, *I.G.* xi. 4, 1036, the delegates of the League, meeting at Delos, decree ἀναγράφαι κ.τ.λ. καὶ στήσαι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν βασιλέων; in the second, *Syll.*³ 390, meeting at Samos, they decree ἀναγράφαι . . . καὶ στήσαι ἐν Δήλῳ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Σωτήρος [Ἡττολέμειον]. The League then stood in some relation to Delos which enabled it to give Delos orders⁴¹ and dispose of Delian soil by appropriating to itself a particular site in the Delian hieron, a thing that could only be done either by Delos herself or by some power that ruled her. Either therefore the League ruled Delos or Delos was a party to giving the order; and as the former alternative is out of the question, Delos was party to the order; that is, Delos was a member of the League. This conclusion is certain; it could only become arguable if some one should ever produce a decree, of indisputable genuineness, in which one independent city specifically asks another for a particular site.

In disposing of Delian soil by directing a stele to be set up on a particular site in the hieron, the Island League is in line with other Leagues, which could and did thus dispose of the soil of a constituent member, whether in the federal hieron or elsewhere; the reason of course was that the city owning the soil was part of the body that gave the order. I give four instances.

Magnesian League. *I.G.* IX. ii. 1103, the League honours Hermogenes of Demetrias, its principal city, and orders the decree to be set up in Demetrias ἐν ᾧς ἦν αὐτὸς (Hermogenes) αἰρήται τόποι. By allowing Hermogenes to select a particular site in a constituent city, the League disposes of its soil. *I.G.* IX. ii. 1102, 1104 shew the same thing.

Ionian League. *O.G.L.* 222, the League permits (or rather requests) Antiochus I to select a site for his τέμενος wherever he likes, i.e. in the territory of any city of the League, and orders its decree to be set up in that τέμενος παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν βασιλέων; that is, the League can dispose of the soil of any city of the League, the actual city remaining to be ascertained.

Epeirot League. *I. Magnesia* 32, the League orders its decree to be set up in the hieron of Zeus Nats at Dodona (Molossian territory) ἐν τῷ βήματι τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἀναθέματι.

Amphiktyonic League. In dealing with the hieron at Delphi, this League acts exactly as Delphi herself acts; both of them, in the same language, direct

⁴¹ Instances of expressed orders being given by a League to a constituent city are *Syll.*³ 419, the Amphiktyonic League

to Delphi, and *O.G.L.* 222, l. 25, the Ionian League to the city whose turn it is to celebrate the Alexandria.

decrees to be engraved upon existing bases or on the Treasury of the Athenians.⁸² The decree *Syll.*³ 419, however, goes far beyond this; here the League orders Delphi to give to Endoxus a site for a thesaurus or store-house.

These examples show that the two inscriptions *I.G.* xi. 4, 1036, and *Syll.*³ 390, in which the Island League expressly disposes of Delian soil, are not unique, but belong to a regular class spread over many other Leagues. It is hardly necessary now to say that it follows from the above that the above-mentioned shortened formula in the decrees of the Island League, directing those decrees to be set up in their federal hieron at Delos, is an order and not a request, just like the similar shortened formula used by the Thessalian League (*I.G.* IX. ii. 507, 508) and the Ilia League (*Syll.*³ 330) in directing decrees to be set up in their federal temples of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa and Athens at Ilium.

It only remains to notice three arguments which have been brought against Delos being a member of the Island League.

(a) *I.G.* xi. 4, 1023, Philoxenus of Samothrace asks Delos for a site to set up a decree passed in his honour by the Island League; it has been suggested that, had Delos been in the League, the League would have set up the decree there themselves.—This is a simple matter. No state, when conferring honours, was bound to set up the decree at all. It often did so, as an act of grace or an advertisement of its generosity; but the decree belonged to the recipient, and its publication was his business.⁸³ Delphi, for example, after 197 did not set up its proxeny decrees, but only entered the fact and the date on a list, *Syll.*³ 585. Sometimes the recipient was merely handed a copy of the decree and left to do what he pleased;⁸⁴ and doubtless he sometimes avoided the expense of publication, for we find a city, which had just conferred citizenship on a man, ordering him to set up the decree himself (*I.G.* xii. 7, 392). If then the Island League did not wish to incur the expense of publishing their decree for Philoxenus, it was no one's business but their own; the fact that he was their proxenos, on which Kolbe lays stress, simply does not bear on the matter at all.

(b) Roussel argues that, in the decrees of the Island League, Delos is on a different footing from *αἱ πόλεις αἱ μετέχουσιν τοῦ συνεδρίου*.—What we get in these decrees⁸⁵ is this: after the direction that the decree shall be set up in Delos, 'the cities' of the League are directed to set it up each in its own hieron where its custom is to set up decrees; and Roussel's point, I take it, is that, as it has already been provided that the decree shall be set up in Delos, *αἱ πόλεις* cannot include Delos; if Delos were a member it should be *αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις*. The short question then is, can *αἱ πόλεις* mean *αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις*; and there is exact evidence from the Ilia and Amphiktyonic Leagues that it not only could, but regularly did. *Syll.*³ 330 gives five decrees of the Ilia League, no. 3 being immaterial here. Nos. 1, 2 and 4 confer honours on Malousios and

⁸² Compare the Amphiktyonic decrees, *Syll.*³ 360 and 329, and *O.G.I.* 334, with the Delphic, *Syll.*³ 614, 615, 637, 671, 672, 698 a, and 711 a.

⁸³ See Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 296 *sup.*

⁸⁴ *Syll.*³ 715; Michel, 553, 554; Wil-

helm, *Neue Beiträge*, 4, p. 34 (decree of Patge).

⁸⁵ *I.G.* xi. 4, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1048; xii. 7, 13; *Syll.*³ 390. The actual phrasing varies a little.

provide for setting them up in the (federal) hieron of Athens at Ilion. No. 5 then orders that the several cities of the League shall each set up in its customary place the honours conferred on Malonios by the League by Nos. 1, 2 and 4; the words are ἀναγράψαι ἐκ[α]στην [τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινῶν] τῶν (restoration certain from No. 2) τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως καὶ θεῖναι τὴν στήλην ὅπου ἐκ[α]στη νόμος ἐστ[ί]ν. On the face of it, 'the cities' here include Ilion. But it has already been provided that the three decrees shall be set up in the hieron of Athens at Ilion, where the Ilions kept their own decrees; consequently the direction, though universal in form, applies in fact only to the other cities of the League: i.e. τῶν πόλεων stands for τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων. The same thing is shown by the dedications of the Ilion League, *C.I.G.* 3602-4; they are made by Ἱλιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινονύσαι τῆς θυσίας, and, as Ilion was a member, αἱ πόλεις stands for αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις; Ilion, as the federal centre, is distinguished from αἱ πόλεις just as Delos, in the decrees mentioned, is for the same reason.—Again, in the Amphiktyonic decrees, *I.G.* vii. 4135 and *G.G.A.* 1913, p. 174, no. 6, 'the hieromnemones' are in each case ordered to take the decree to their cities; but as both decrees have been already ordered to be set up in Delphi, 'the hieromnemones' must mean 'the other hieromnemones,' excluding the Delphian; another case of the distinction of the federal centre from 'the cities.'—Consequently the phrase 'the cities' in the decrees of the Island League is perfectly consistent with Delos being a member and the federal centre; indeed on the analogy of the Ilion and Amphiktyonic Leagues it is the phrase one would expect.⁶⁶ I think this meets Roussel's difficulty.

(c) *I.G.* xi. 4, 539 = *Syll.*² 391, the Delian decree for Philokles: Roussel argues that, as the Island League borrowed from Delos, we should suppose that Delos kept her autonomy vis-à-vis her creditors; a point Kolbe also adopts.—What the League borrowed from, however, was not the city of Delos, but the temple, precisely as the Islands did in 377 (*Syll.*² 153); and as the city of Delos also regularly borrowed from and repaid to the temple⁶⁷—in fact the city was financed by the temple as a modern business may be financed by its bankers—the consideration Roussel suggests does not arise; there is no difficulty in supposing that Delos was a member of the League which borrowed from the temple when she was regularly borrowing from it herself, while if she herself was regularly borrowing she could hardly lend to others. (In fact, such a thing as a business loan from one city to another is hardly known; and naturally so,

⁶⁶ The only case I know of to the contrary is a decree of the Italian League, *Syll.*² 308; there αἱ πόλεις does mean all the cities, so one would expect, this League being in the exceptional position that the federal centre, the Panionion, was not in any city and was (as the circumstances of its foundation explain) owned by the League itself (*C.I.G.* 2609). The fact that Priene could grant *εἰρηεῖα* in the Panionion (*J. Priene*, 18, 34, 108, 113, 117, 133) relates to administration, not ownership;

Priene did not keep her records there.

⁶⁷ Temple accounts *passim*; see *I.G.* xi. 2, 147 n. 7; 158 n.; 161 A, 25; 203 A, 73 seq.; 287 A, 122 seq.; xi. 3, 290, 129. The amounts are substantial; nearly 35,000 dr. in 282, over 15,000 in 250.—It is of course conceivable that the League borrowed through the city of Delos, but it is not probable, for Delos herself provided the security for her borrowings by mortgaging her 2 per cent. import and export duty.

for a city only raised and earmarked money as it required it. The so-called city loans, however expressed, are really loans made by a number of citizens,⁶⁸ whether directly or through the medium of their city; and I only know of one loan which *may* be a loan made by a city itself.⁶⁹ The wording of the decree for Philoeles seems to make the matter quite clear. Philoeles, by inducing the League to pay its debt, conferred a benefit on the temple (put first) and on the citizens of Delos; on the temple, that is, because it recovered its money; and on the citizens, because through their magistrates the hieropes they managed the temple and its funds, and were therefore concerned to see that Apollo did not lose his property. The citizens' part in the business can be illustrated from *G.D.I.* 1529: Drymaea in Phocis borrows from the god, i.e. the federal temple, of the Oetaean League, and the League joins in the mortgage in order to have a *locus standi* and be able to see to it that the instalments of the debt are punctually repaid to its temple.

The conclusion drawn from the evidence here cited seems about as certain as anything can well be: The island of Delos was a holy place; as such, it was immune from war, but could be ruled or controlled by others and could enter into political relationships; one of those relationships in fact was, that it was a member of the third-century Island League. A neutral place it was not; no such thing was known; and I trust that this strange and impossible idea of the 'neutrality' of Delos will now die. The practical result is that, whether this or that reconstruction of the middle of the third century be right or wrong in its details, we need not abandon our best guide in the darkness, the Delian evidence, and betake ourselves to mere hypotheses.

W. W. TARN.

⁶⁸ Clearly shown in the loans in *I.G.* vii. 2405-2406; *ib.* 1737, 1738; *I.G.* xii. 9, 7. The practice is shown by *I. Delphinion*, 138.

⁶⁹ Vollgraf, *Monnoeyna*, 44, 1916, p. 219, a decree of Argos; Rhodes has lent Argos 100 talents, and the unusual round figure

makes it possible that the money was lent by Rhodes and not by a number of Rhodians.—The money advanced by Sparta to the Thirty Tyrants was a political measure, as was Heracleia's advance to Byzantium, Memnon, 51.

THE ANGORA RESOLUTION OF THE STAGE GUILD

In the series of copies from Angora inscriptions by Mr. d'Orbeliani there are none for which we owe him a greater debt than those numbered 'Orb. 41' (pp. 33-36 of this volume).

They represent, first (Fig. 19), the dedication on the pedestal made for a statue of Ulpia Aelia Pompeiana, benefactor of 'The Sacred Hadrianic Stage Guild';¹ secondly (Fig. 20), the full text, engraved on the same stone, of the resolution by which the Guild authorised the erection of that statue and the granting to Pompeianus of other honours. This latter document, thanks to the thirty-four lines added by the new copy, is now the most complete example that we possess of such a *prophisma*: except for the last three lines and for a few words and unknown names, it can, as the copyist claims, 'be fully read.' The text of the dedication (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 211) and of most of the preamble to the resolution (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 209) have been known since 1885, but the closeness of their connexion and the sketch of the monument (Fig. 19) are new and welcome data. In view of its importance, recently emphasised by Ramsay,² the resolution seems worth repeating in revised form, with the epigraphic copy. Variations between that and the printed text are marked by the usual round brackets, but only a few of the words restored seem to require explanation. It may, however, be pointed out that owing to the poor condition of the stone (cf. p. 34 above) Ω, Ο and Λ may easily be confused by a copyist, as can be seen from the first Ω in l. 13, and from the Λ copied instead of Ο at the end of l. 48. For proof-reading and suggestions I owe many thanks to Professor W. M. Calder and Mr. M. N. Tod.

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΕΧΝΗ

† ΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΗΜΙΟΤΟΥ ΜΕΝΗΜΕΤΕ
ΙΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΥΣΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΤΩ
ΥΑΜΩΝ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΥΡΑ
ΝΕΡΩΝΑΙΩΝ ΥΠΟΤΕΧΝΗΤΩΝ ΗΡΩΩΝ
ΥΠΟΤΕΧΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΑΝ ΤΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ
ΑΓΛΗΙΣΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΝ ΜΕΤΟΚΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΡΑ
ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΤΟΚΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ
ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ
ΑΜΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ
ΤΩΝ ΑΤΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ
ΤΩΝ ΑΤΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΧΩ

Ἀγαθῇ Τέχνῃ

Ψόφισμα τῶν ἀπὸ (τ)ῆς οἰκουμένη[s] πε-
(ρι) τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα (α) Τρο-
αίων Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Καίσα[ρ]α
5 νεὸν Διόνυσον τ(ε)χνειτῶν ἐρ[ου]ει-
κῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων [συν]-
αγαριστῶν καὶ τῶν νεμόντων τὴν ἐρά[ν]υ
(ρ)υμα(λ)ικ(η)ν σύνοδον. Ἐπειδὴ προσ[ταχ]-
(θεί)ς ὑπὸ (τ)ῆς ἐρ(ρ)ωτάτης Βουλ(η)ς Οὐλ(πι)ος
10 (λ)ίλιος Πομπείανος (ἀ)γνωσ(ε)τῆσα(ι) τ(αν) ἀ-
(γ)ῶνα τὸν μυστικὸν ἐσθίοντα ὑπὸ (τ)οῦ Αὐ-
τοκ(ρ)άτορος ἐκ (δ)λίγαις τῇ πό(λ)ει τῇ τε [χ]ε[ι]-

¹ Cf. *Suppl. Hellenic Epigraphy* (*I.G.* xiv. 2493), of *ἡρῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτορος* (ll. 7-8; Benndorf, *Reisen in Lyk. u. Kae.* i. p. 123, n. 96), was the short title, followed in formal

documents by the elaborate verbings of our text.

² *Stud. in the Roman Prov. Galatia*, *J.E.S.* xii. 1922, p. 162; n. 3, p. 174.

[illegible]

ραττία-τ[αχ]ίω(ε) ἑπήκουσιν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶ-
 να διαφανῶς ἐπετέλεσεν ἐκ (τ)ῶν ἑαυτοῦ μη-
 δεμῶ(ς) ἀ-ολειφ(θ)εῖς (λα)μπρότης καὶ (μ)εγα-
 λο(ψ)[υ]χίας, ἅμα τῆς τε εὐδελείας τῆς (π)ατρίδος
 εἰ(ς) ἀμφότεροις τῶ(ς) θεοῖς ἐ(π)ε(ψη)φ(ισ)εν
 καὶ (τὰ)ς ἐπιδόσεις πάσας δ(ι) ἀφειδῶς ἐποιήσα-
 το πρὸς μηδεμίαν διαπ(ί)σην ἀνα(δ)υν. κ(α)ὶ τῷ τε
 τάχει (τ)ῆς σπουδῆς δ(δ)εῦρο(τα)ς ἦεν τὸν ἀγῶ(ν)ι-
 (στ)ῆς ἀνεκαλίσσας κ(α)[Π] παντὶ μέρει τοῦ μυστηρί-
 (ου ἐπ)ήκε(σεν τῇ μὲν συν(ῆ)δρῳ τὰ ἄλλα προθ(ε)ις
 δὲ μυστία) οὐ ἀγῶνι ἐ(πι)[τελ]ῶν ὡς προκεκλή-
 (ς οὕτως) εὐ ποιεῖν (τ)ῆς πόλιν
 χθαι) ἡμ<λ>εῖν, ὑπὲρ (τ)οῦ τετ(ελε)σθαι (ὑπ' αὐ)-
 τῷ τε Λ[ύτοκρατορι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ διασ(η)-
 ατον] ἀγῶνα τῇ πόλει, τ(ὸν) ἄνδρα τετιμ[ῆσθαι]
 πάν(τ)ος ἀνα(στ)ά<σ>(ει εἰ)ν ἐπιφανεστῆ-
 ῥον τ(ῆς) μη(τ)ροπό(λε)ως, εἰδ(ε)ῖ δὲ (ἀ)ναγ(ο)[ρ]-
 θαι εἴ(η) (τῶ) θιατρ(φ) παραδ(ε)γμα κα(λλ)ιστο(ν)
 αἰθ(ε)ρῶ μένοι. ὡ(ς) καὶ τὸν εἰσιόντα ἀγῶ[οθ]εῖ
 ἄγειν τ(ὸν) αἰγ(ῶ)να ἐ(ψ)ηφίσθα(ι), στεφανοῦσ-
 ῶ(ς) τὸν (Π)ο(μ)ι(ανὸν ἐπ)ί τοῦ αἰγ(ῶ)νος (τοῦ) Ἀδρι(α)-
 νῶς ἄριστον ἄνδρα ἐνεκ(ε)ν κα(τ)απεσθ[ῆσθαι]
 ἐν εὐαντίῳ σ(α)μῆματι τῇ συνόδῳ, ἀνασ(τ)ῆσ(αι)
 αὐτοῦ) ἀνδριάντα καὶ ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει, [καὶ τῷ τε]
 ὑκρά(τ)υ(μι) Καίσαρι Τραιαν(ῶ) Ἀδριανῶ [Σεβασ]-
 τῇ καὶ τῷ κα(τ)ίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Τρεβίῳ Σ<>ερρι(ανῶ)
 εἰ(ς)τα δ(ὲ) αἰ(ψ)ηφίσματος τῆς (τε) τοῦ ἀνδρός
 τιμ(ι)αν καὶ τὴν τῆς συνόδου δικα[ίαν
 ἐκ]σ(ηγ)ησάμενον Γαίον Ἀν(τ)ωνίου Πολ-
]ε κωμωδοῦ ὀ(λ)υμπιοτικοῦ, ἐ-
 ηφισα(μ)ένου Ἰουλίῳ Κολλήτῳ Ν(ια)[πο]-
 υ(ί) κωμω(δ)οῦ παραδό(ξ)ου, Ἐγεί(ε)το ἐν (τῇ)
 εὐπόλει τῆς Γαλιτίας Ἀνδρέα ἀγῶν(ε) τε(λ)-
 οῦ μυσ(τι)κοῦ ἐπὶ Ἐλλαδάρχου Οἰλ(π)ίου
 ἰόν Παμπ(ι)ανῶ) κ(α)ὶ ἀρχιερέω(ς) Μ(ε)μ(ο)ῖον
]ου Δι<ρ>ωνσίον τοῦ Ἐλλαδάρχ(ου)
 ἄρχ(α)ν(τ)ος Τίτου Φλαυρίου Ἰουλιαν(οῦ)
 γραμμ(ο)τέω(ς) Ἀλεξάνδρου Σ(α)ρ(β)ια-
 καί] Αὐδικεῖως (ε)θαρω(δ)οῦ σ(ε)β(α)στο-
 ν) τοῦ τρι(ς) ἀρχιερέω(ς) ρομ(ο)δ(ικ)ῶν
] (Π)ο(λί)του Τρωαδέως πλ(ε)ιστονίκου
]ω(ν)ίου Τε[. . .]του Ἀσ(π)ει-
 καί(ι) Πρ(ε)σ(β)υ(τ)έρ(η) <ω(ς) κ(ω)μω(δ)ῶ.

The restoration of this document with approximate certainty is made possible by the similar *psophisma* (*B.C.H.* ix. 1885, pp. 124-126), in which the Guild, meeting at Ephesus in the days of Antoninus Pius, expresses gratitude to Alcibiades of Nysa. The honours paid to him are (a) the erection of his statue and of a stele at Nysa: ll. 46-51; (b) public proclamation, and (c) crowning with a gilded wreath:² ll. 54-55; (d) special announcement to Alcibiades at Nysa and to the civic authorities: ll. 57-68; (e) announcement to the Emperor and to the Guild in Rome: ll. 66-70. The awards to our Pompeianus are almost identical, but no message to him and to his city was needed because the action was taken in Angora. Omitting (d) we find (a) erection of two statues: ll. 28, 36; (b) proclamation: ll. 29-32; (c) crowning: ll. 32-35; (e) announcement to the Emperor and to his legate: ll. 36-41. An interesting point in the Ephesus resolution is that its proposer, Publius Aelius Pompeianus, may well have been a son of our Angora magnate;⁴ like our Pompeianus, he was rich; his home seems to have been, not at Angora, but in Maconia.⁵ The Ephesus document has the colloquial ἡμᾶν for τῆς σίνροδος, l. 15 (cf. our ἡμεῖν, l. 25), and δικαίαν χάριν, l. 45, as in our ll. 40-41.

- L. 10. ἀγωνοθετῆσαι, as in the new copy, is clearly preferable to the participle -θήσας.
- L. 16. ἄμα seems more probable than ἀλλά because followed by an indicative, not by a participle.
- L. 21. The 'calling back' of the artists must have been costly to Pompeianus if they were travelling to fulfil other engagements (cf. *L.B.W.*, 1620 c. ll. 13-15), and Professor Calder suggests that it may have been achieved by the 'persuasion' referred to in l. 31.
- L. 23. In view of the blurring, εἰ[τε]ῖ[τε]λ[ω]ν (cf. l. 14) seems more probable than (παρ)ασ(χ)ον. The restored words at the end of this, and at the beginning of the next line, are doubtful; we might read προσε[ί]μεναι αὐτῶ (Calder).
- L. 27. τῇ τέλει seems to depend on διασημώτατον, 'most honourable for the city.'
- L. 31. If ἄγει, suggested by Calder, or τελεῖ, is the correct restoration in l. 32, ὤ(s) appears to be required in lieu of ὦ. The sense intended is clear.
- L. 33. As this is evidently one of the most blurred lines, bold restoration may be justified in view of the satisfactory meaning. The last four letters are puzzling; if rightly read as the beginning of Ἀδρι[ανείου], the requisite (τοῦ) may have been left out by the engraver.

² The reading should be ἀγορεύσειν καὶ χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ.

³ Sir W. M. Ramsay believes that the father of our Ulpia Aelia is found mentioned at the Helyon near Pisidian Antioch, and kindly informs me that the man's name was M. Ulpia Publius Pompeianus; cf. *J.R.S.* xii. 1922, p. 193, n. 1.

⁴ He is described as Π. Αἰλίου Πομπηϊανῶ, [Μακωνίας, Ἰδρωτῶ καὶ Τραπεζαῶ καὶ Πωλίου, σκευῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλοτρουῦ καὶ βασιλέως καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ, θεοδότου καὶ τῶν ἐν Περγάμῃ καὶ Ἐφυσῶν ἀντιπροσέτοκων καὶ Σεβαστῶν Πρεσβ. ll. 1-6, 69-65. The ethnic Μακων, by no means rare, seems probable. For the omission of καὶ cf. *Klio*, viii. 1908, p. 417, l. 18.

- L. 35. The ingenious restoration proposed by Calker was suggested by the idea that this is a reference to the generous act mentioned in ll. 20-21. Perhaps in going away, when Pompeianus induced or bribed them to return, the artists had been defying the instructions of the Guild.
- L. 36. The 'New Town' may have been a new quarter of the growing city; if it designates one of the many towns called *Νεάπολις*, that fact ought to have been shown by greater fullness in the title. For this there is no room, since the line as restored has 36 letters, while the longest of our lines (37, 38) have not more than 37 letters each.
- L. 38. This is the first intimation of the fact that C. Trebinius Sergianus, consul in 132, was Hadrian's legate in Galatia.
- L. 44. There is a double dating, (1) by officials of the province, ll. 46-48, (2) by those of the Guild, ll. 49-55. In Fig. 19 (p. 34) Pompeianus is Helladarch and *ἀρχιερεύς*, whereas here he is Helladarch, but Memmius, a former (?) holder of that post (l. 48), is the *ἀρχιερεύς*. The passage would seem to show that the provincial high-priesthood and the Helladarchy were distinct offices, and that the former was the higher. For *ἐγένετο* cf. *Klio*, viii. 1908, p. 415, l. 16.
- ll. 50-52. This Alexander, thrice high-priest of the Guild, is mentioned in an unpublished Sardinian fragment, and probably also as grammateus in *R.E.G.* iv. 1891, p. 175, No. 2, a text from Thyatira.
- L. 52. Only one *κομοδίαρχος* is found in *C.I.G.* 6829, l. 24, but the restorations in ll. 53-55 are, of course, very uncertain.

While the allusion in ll. 34-35 to the special service rendered by Pompeianus is unfortunately obscure, the unique mention (l. 20) of the actors as 'travelling' is well worth noting. For the fact that these artists of our Guild and the athletes of the *ἐσθιαρχὴ αἰώνος* alone among Graeco-Roman craftsmen developed unions⁶ extending throughout the empire was mainly due to their itinerancy. The local union of bakers, say at Ephesus,⁷ could adequately assist its members because they were localised in that city. But if the Guild of actors, singers and musicians, who constantly moved from city to city, was really to help them, it needed to embrace the whole empire. And this itinerant character would also largely determine the membership. Professor Westermann has recently discussed⁸ the status of minor artists in Egypt and their share in the local Dionysiac guilds. We may strongly suspect, though we cannot as yet prove, that the ubiquity of their professional engagements made it expedient for the more eminent artists to join the 'Sacred Hadrianic Guild.'

W. H. BUCKLER,

⁶ That the Guild exercised trade-union functions respecting rates of pay, etc., cannot as yet be shown, but a feature suggesting that it did so is its inclusion of the *συναγασταί* (ll. 6-7), i.e. the assistants, from some of whom, if not admitted to the

Guild, backward competition might have arisen.

⁷ Cf. the remarks on the bakers' strike at Ephesus in *Anatolian Studies* iv, to Ramsay, p. 30 f.

⁸ *J. of Egypt. Arch.* x. 1924, p. 145.

NOTE ON THE ANGORA RESOLUTION

MR. W. H. BUCKLER, with his accustomed skill, restores an inscription of Ancyra well known to me. In one point, important for the history of Anatolia, I hold a different opinion: and it seems worth a footnote to his article. He takes *ἐν Νεαπόλει* as *ἐν νέῃ πόλει*, interpreting it of the enlarged Ancyra of the second century. The text seemed to me to read clearly *ἐν Νεαπόλει τῶν* [Πισιδῶν]. It belongs to a great family of South Galatia. Neapolis of Pisidia was at Karagatch, near Antioch, where M. Ulpius Pudens Pompeianus made a dedication to Men or Mannes, the god of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier lands, when he attained the *civitas*, and took the *nomen* of the reigning Emperor. Pompeianus as cognomen he adopted perhaps in memory of Pompeius Collega (to whom he was in some way indebted), governor of Galatia c. A.D. 75; but cognomina are often difficult to explain. His son was Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus, who was permitted by the Emperor Hadrian to add his own *nomen*, a special honour. This wealthy provincial could afford to do what is recorded in the inscription. The entertainment of the *Technitai* was done by Ancyra acting as metropolis of the province Galatia, not as metropolis of the tribe Tektosages. The title *μητρόπολις τῆς Γαλατίας* cannot be explained as if it referred to the tribal Galatia alone.

The invention of Neapolis as name of a new quarter of the growing Ancyra can in no way be justified, so far as I can judge from the now rather voluminous evidence about Ancyra; on this point space precludes further statement. Mr. Buckler in his note on l. 36 argues that there is no room for a fuller title of Neapolis, but his restoration is too long. The Emperor was either *ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ* simply, or *Αὐτ. Καίς.* followed by descent and then personal names (where *Αὐτ.* is treated in usual fashion as *prænomen*, *Καίσαρ* as *nomen*, and his personal names come as *cognomina* after the filiation). Similarly we speak of 'the king' or of 'King George V.' Eliminating the article and the odious *τε*, there is no objection to *Πισιδῶν*. In the copy which I know the *τῶ[ς]* was quite clear, and can be seen now in the epigraphic copy (with II for IT, as often elsewhere rightly restored by Mr. Buckler). As *τῶ[ς]* seems certain, I dare not use *Πισιδῶν* simply, though that is less violent than several restorations which Mr. Buckler rightly finds necessary.

In ll. 41-42 *Πολ[έμωνος]* (of a well-known family) seems probable; Collega was adopted as a *cognomen* by Galatic provincials who gained *civitas* (see my paper in *Cl. Rev.* 1919, p. 1 f.) from Cn. Pompeius Collega, governor of Galatia. In l. 54 perhaps [*Τ. Πομπ[η]ωρίου*], adopted from T. Pomponius Bassus, governor A.D. 95-101, though [*Γαλέν[τ] 'Αντ[ωνίου]*] is more probable. In l. 53 Mr. Buckler formerly suggested a different and perhaps preferable restoration; so also in l. 35. In footnote 5 (p. 160) [*-Γαίονος*] can hardly be an ethnic, as it would be followed by *καί*; it is a personal name.

W. M. RAMSAY.

A. GOLD VASE OF EARLY HELLADIC TYPE

THE identification of the Early Helladic civilisation has been the most notable advance made in Greek prehistory since the war. Our knowledge of this earliest Aegean culture on the Mainland is still very fragmentary. But the Louvre has possessed for nearly fifty years a precious document which can now be assigned its true place and sheds an unexpected light on the epoch. It is a gold 'saucer-boat' of the form already so familiar in clay at Korakou and Tiryns. Thanks to the courtesy of M. Etienne Michon, Conservator of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, I am permitted to publish this remarkable object (Fig. 1).

Save for the handle, our vase has been beaten out of a single piece of metal. The walls are exceedingly thin, not more than .3 mm. thick, but, as with the gold beakers from Troy, measuring more at the rim, the edge being .9 mm. across. The base is cupped to form a ring foot, a procedure also adopted by Trojan and Sumerian metal-workers. The handle is formed by a strip of gold with rectangular cross section, flattened at either end to receive the rivets which attach it to the vase. Its three outer sides are engraved with a herring-bone pattern. The complete vessel weighs 125.2 grammes.

The vase was acquired by the Louvre in 1887. Such a date at once disposes of any doubts as to its authenticity, since the strange shape was unknown till Prof. Tsountas published his *Kυκλαδικά* in 1898. The circumstances of its discovery are obscure. It is said to have been found near Heraea in Arcadia. Such a provenance is intrinsically probable. Clay saucer-boats are known from Levkas,¹ Corinthia, the Argolid, Attica, Syros, Naxos and Amorgos. On the other hand, among the numerous Early Helladic vases which I studied in the Chersonesus Museum, I did not see a single saucer-boat, though Mr. Heurtley informs me that two isolated specimens are known from Boeotia. So our vase belongs to a type which was especially popular in the regions bordering on Arcadia. In classical times several important trade routes converged near Heraea, and it may well have been so in prehistoric days also.

The chronological context of the Louvre vase is to-day quite plain. The clay 'saucer-boats' both in the Peloponnese and in the Cyclades fall within the period E.M. II. III. A stone vase from Tomb VI. (E.M. II.) at Mochlos² and some clay vases found near Gournia (E.M. I.-II.)³ belong to the same family. Our gold example may well be as old as 2000 B.C.

The wealth to which it bears witness is not really surprising. Dr. Blegen

¹ Bonart, *Altkreta*, Pl. I., 2.

² Sauer, *Mochlos*, Pl. VI.

³ Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 30, Fig. 20.

has recently found gold ornaments and silver diadems in E.H. tombs at Zygouries.¹ And these are not the earliest examples of the precious metals on the Greek Mainland. At Sesklo, with pottery of the second 'neolithic' period,² a gold ring pendant was found. The latter, however, may be regarded as an heirloom brought from the El Dorado of Transylvania by the invaders



FIG. 1.—HELLADIC GOLD CUP IN THE LOUVRE.

who introduced Dimini ware into Eastern Thessaly. Just as we can trace the invaders by their pottery and megaron houses³ to the head waters of the Ait, so we find that the oldest settlers there used the local gold for ornaments.²

The newly revealed riches of the Peloponnesians were due to quite different causes. The Early Helladic peoples, in contrast to the neolithic peasants,

¹ *Art and Archaeology*, xv, p. 88.

² Tsountas, *Δ.Σ.*, p. 350.

³ *J.H.A.I.*, lili, pp. 263, 287.

⁴ Information kindly furnished by Dr. Ferencs Laszlo.

chose the sites for their settlements with a view to commerce rather than to tillage, and, as with the Minoans, the source of their wealth must be sought in maritime trade. The occupation of Levkas points to westward enterprises. It is reasonable to suppose that the Early Helladic inhabitants of the Greek Mainland were the intermediaries in the traffic which brought to Sicily the bossed bone plaques and pommels * of Trojan type; for the hour-glass tankards associated with these objects in Siculan I tombs have Early Helladic analogues.⁶

The control of east to west trade explains the Anatolian connexions of the Early Helladic culture itself. In particular the famous spotted bowl from treasure A at Troy has often been compared to the Helladic and Cycladic 'saucer-boats.' Nevertheless our vase can hardly be of Troadic origin. The Trojan goldsmiths always used solder, never rivets, for gold and silver vessels, and preferred tubular handles to straps.

The Louvre vase then must be regarded as truly Helladic in origin. So it is even more striking testimony to the wealth of some unknown forerunners of the lords of Kakovatos. In its light we must be prepared to revise our view of Aegean civilisation in the third millennium B.C. and to recognise the Mainland participating as an equal with Crete and the Cyclades in a great maritime confederacy.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

* B.P., xliii, Pl. II. 6. ⁶ Cf. e.g. Fineman, *Die kretisch-zykenische Kultur*, Figs. 61, 68.

THE GREEKS AND ANCIENT TRADE WITH THE ATLANTIC

ANCIENT trade between Mediterranean lands and Atlantic Europe was first and foremost a quest by Mediterranean folk for tin, of which the indigenous supplies were insufficient.¹ In this quest the Greeks had a vital interest, in view of the great development of their bronze industry. What actual part did they take in the Atlantic tin traffic?

This question raises two others, which will require a brief notice. From what part of the Atlantic seaboard, and by what route, was the tin fetched?

Fortunately we need not reopen the controversy over the Cassiterides or Tin Islands, which in the common Greek belief were the source of Western tin. This belief was in any case a mistaken one, for in Western Europe there are no tin deposits worth mentioning on any archipelago of islands.² Moreover, the discrepancies between the notions of various ancient writers as to their situation suggest that the name 'Cassiterides' was applied in turn to more than one of the Western tin districts.³ We may therefore circumnavigate the problem of the Cassiterides by treating them as a floating expression like the 'Spice Islands' of early modern times, and refusing to attach the name specifically to any one metalliferous area.

¹ The only Mediterranean source of tin where the existence of ancient workings can be proved is Monte Valerio, near Campiglia in Tuscany. These workings were very difficult and exiguous (Daubrée, *Revue Archéologique*, 1881, p. 235).

Modern prospectors have found tin, but no evidence of ancient exploitation, near Granada (Bérard, *Les Phéniciens*, I. 445), Almeria and Carthagen (Favre, *Tin Deposits*, p. 181). As has often been pointed out, the tin deposits of the river Tartessus (Seymour, II. 164-6; Stephanius, s.v. *Tartessus*), and on two islands at the head of the Adriatic (Seymour, II. 162-3) are a myth. The Adriatic tin may have come from Bohemia or Saxony by one of the old amber routes (Dèchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, I. 626), or, more probably, from the Atlantic via Gaul and the Po valley. The Tartessus tin was certainly of Atlantic origin.

Several tin workings, presumably of ancient origin, have been discovered in Central France. These at Ventry (Haute Vienne) and Montebani (Creuse) were fairly extensive (Daubrée, p. 274 *seq.*) But these mines could not have gone far

to meet the Mediterranean demand for tin.

² Some old tin workings have been found on Tresco Island in the Scillies (Borlase, *Observations*, p. 73). But these are almost microscopic.

G. Smith (*The Cassiterides*, pp. 52-3) and C. Torr (*The Academy*, 1895, pp. 342-3) suggest that the Greeks were misled by a Phœnician onomatopoeic word which did duty for our 'island,' 'landland' and 'over-seas land.' This is unnecessary. Explorers ancient and modern have often mistaken mainlands for islands. Cf. Ptolemy's 'Island of Scandis' (*Geog.* II. II. 35), Marco Polo's 'Island of Zanzibar,' i.e. Central Africa (*Travels*, ch. xxxvii.), and the sturdy belief of the discoverers of America that there was a waterway between the new lands to the East.

For the opposite error, cf. the obsession in a continuous 'Terra Australis' which was not dispelled till the time of Bass and Flinders (1800).

³ S. Reinach, *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 401; Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, pp. 483-88; Haverfield, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Kassiterides*.

The real point to be determined is, which of the Atlantic deposits were actually worked in antiquity at any given moment of time.¹

This question cannot be answered in full, owing to the scarcity of literary evidence and of distinctive remains such as inscriptions and pottery. But the following general conclusions may be drawn.

(1) The mines of Spain were in operation from the beginning of the bronze age.² They were also being worked in the days of Poseidonius (c. 80 B.C.)³ and of Pliny (c. A.D. 60).⁴ They may or may not have been worked uninterruptedly between the Bronze Age and the Roman Empire, but from Pliny's time their exploitation was probably continuous.⁵

(2) The deposits of southern Brittany were probably worked about 500 B.C.,⁶ and the great abundance of Bronze Age remains along the west and north-west coast of France⁷ suggests that the tin industry of this region followed closely upon that of Spain. On the other hand, the complete absence of references of later date than 500 B.C. to this group of mines indicates that they became derelict not long after.⁸

(3) The tin deposits of Wicklow in Ireland are not extensive enough to have given rise to any regular commerce.⁹

(4) So long as the mines of Brittany remained productive, it is unlikely that the tin of Cornwall should have been worked on any large scale. But in the days of Pytheas (c. 325 B.C.) metal was certainly being extracted there from subterranean lodes.¹⁰ As this method of operation marks a later stage in the history of a tin mine, we may infer that the Cornish field was being actively worked at least as far back as 500 B.C. In Julius Caesar's days the British mines were still productive.¹¹ During the early Roman Empire

¹ See Dechelette, l. pp. 428, 626. The use of bronze in Western Gaul spread, not from Brittany, but from Gascony. This implies that it was imported from Spain.

² Strabo, p. 147: (Μαυριτανία πρὸς τὴν αὐριανήν) γινώσκουσι δὲ καὶ οὐκ οὐκ τὴν Αὐριανὴν ἀφ' ἧς οὐκ.

³ *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv, 16 (47), § 158: nunc vertum est plumbum album in Lusitania gigni et in Gallia.

⁴ This may be inferred from the great scale of the Roman workings, and the depth to which they were eventually excavated (Borlase, *Tin Mining in Spain*, p. 15 seq.).

⁵ The 'Oestrymnia' of Avienus (*Ors Maritima*, l. 90 seq.), where 'tin and lead are found in plenty,' clearly is Brittany. (See Siret, *L'Anthropologie*, 1902, p. 130, and Schulten's recent edition of Avienus.) It matters little whether Avienus drew upon the Carthaginian Himilco, or upon an earlier Marseillais writer, as Schulten contends on good grounds. In any case his ultimate source goes back to about 500 B.C.

⁶ See the map at the end of Vol. II, Pt. I of Dechelette's *Manuel*.

⁷ Siret (*loc. cit.*) points out that when the Breton mines had scoured away the alluvium they would have had to follow the tin into some very hard quartz lodes. Small wonder if their industry migrated to other sites where the tin could still be strained or the stanniferous rock was more friable.

⁸ If the prominence of Ireland in Avienus' poem (ll. 108-110) is not due to a mere fancy of Avienus but to its commercial importance, we may assume that its exports were not so much of tin, as Schulten (*Tartessos*, p. 67) supposes, but of gold (Jeffrey, *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, ch. iv.).

⁹ Diodorus, v, 22; Pliny, iv, (16), 30, § 104. On these passages see p. 174.

¹⁰ *De Rebus Gallicis*, v, 12, 5: noster ibi (sc. in Britannia) plumbum album in mediterranea regionibus. Caesar's error as to the situation of the mines is immaterial. Presumably the small quantities of tin used by his British informants (in the Thames valley region?) reached them by a land route.

operations appear to have been suspended, and although work had certainly been resumed by A.D. 600, there is no trace of a fresh start having been made before A.D. 250 at the earliest.¹⁴

(5) Summing up, we may say that (i) tin was produced continuously from the Bronze Age to the latest days of ancient metallurgy at one or other of the West European mines; (ii) in the last four or five centuries B.C. Cornwall was probably the most important source of tin; but (iii) under the Roman Empire Spain became the main if not the sole source of supplies.

Of the two main avenues from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean the sea track through the Straits of Gibraltar was the tin route *par excellence*. In the nature of things it was the chief and probably the only transport-line from the mines of Spain;¹⁵ and it also served for the northern tin-fields.¹⁶ But the alternative route through France was also brought into use for the conveyance of Cornish if not of Breton tin.¹⁷

We must now examine the history of these two routes from the Greek point of view.

The Sea Route.—The sea passage to the tin lands, as an abundance of archaeological evidence declares, was already made in prehistoric times.¹⁸

Did Crete, the forerunner of Greece, take part in these Atlantic ventures? The key to this and to many other problems of early Western civilisation may perhaps be recovered some day from the ruins of Tartessus.¹⁹ For the present, 'non rugionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.' In any case, whatever the early Cretans knew about the Far West passed into oblivion with them. Not till about 630 B.C. did a ship from Greece make the Straits of Gibraltar, and its skipper, Colaeus of Samos, was not bent on discovery at all, but was merely sailing to Egypt when a persistent east wind blew him off his course and made him an explorer *malgré lui*.²⁰ But once Colaeus had blundered upon the gate

¹⁴ See Haverfield, *Middle Ages Bolinas*, pp. 249-53. His archaeological evidence, though not conclusive in itself, is supported by Pliny, xxxiv. 16 (47), § 158: *fabulosum narratum (plumbum album) in insulis Atlantici maris peti . . . minus certum est in Lusitania gigni et in Gallia*. Pliny could hardly have ignored the British supplies as he here does, had they been forthcoming in his own day.

Presumably the lode tin of Cornwall was beaten by the alluvial tin of Gallia. This, being some way inland, may not have been discovered till the campaigns of P. Crassus (53 B.C.) or Augustus' Cantabrian Wars (24-19 B.C.). In any case, it required a large hydraulic apparatus such as probably none but a Roman engineer would have troubled to instal (Borlase, *loc. cit.*). But once put into operation, these Spanish stream-mines must have been more lucrative than lode mines.

¹⁵ Ridgway (*Folklore*, 1890, p. 91)

assumes a traffic from Spain to Bordeaux and Narbo, but adduces no clear evidence.

¹⁶ Avium, II. 113-14: *Tartessusque in terminis Oestrymilion negotiandi more erat*; Strabo, pp. 175-6. Strabo escaped his own notice in proving that the 'Cassiterides' in this context are British land.

¹⁷ Strabo, p. 147. This passage will be discussed later.

¹⁸ DeSoleto, II. 393; Schuchardt, *Athenica*, pp. 57-8; Schulten, *Tartessus*, pp. 9-10; Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 41-5; Haverfield in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Kassiteriden*.

¹⁹ On the importance of excavation at this Crassus of the west, and on its probable situation, see Schulten, *Tartessus*, pp. 81-90.

²⁰ Herodotus, iv. 152. For the date, see Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, I. p. 482, n. 3. No doubt the Greeks had heard of the Straits long before 630 B.C., and their knowledge of them may even have been

of the Atlantic, it remained open to the Greeks for nearly a century, and in his wake the merchants of Phocæa pushed out past their own outpost at Massilia and established a regular trade connexion with the realm of Tartessus.²¹

The question now arises, did any of the Phocæan penteconters stray on into the Atlantic and visit one or other of the tin lands? Our answer will depend on the use we make of a difficult passage in Pliny: *plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primum adportavit Midacritus*.²²

The historical value of this notice has been successfully established by S. Reinach, who has given good reasons for believing that it is ultimately derived from Hellanicus of Lesbos, a very respectable authority.²³ The same scholar has demolished the theory that under the name 'Midacritus' lurked the Phœnician god Melicarth. But, not content to accept Pliny's text at its face value, he has emended 'Midacritus' into 'Midas Phryx.' In this case Pliny's tin merchant was either the famous king of Phrygia or a lesser personage, perhaps a princely sea-rover, who carried the royal name. In support of this emendation Reinach quotes two other passages, from Hyginus and Cassiodorus, in which Midas figures as the discoverer of tin,²⁴ and Diodorus' list of thalassocracies, in which the Phrygians hold a place; and he further points out that an anchor was exhibited in the armorial bearings of the Phrygian kings.

Now this argument, though highly seductive, is not conclusive.

(1) The anchor was also a symbol of the Seleucid kings, of several triumviri monetales of the Roman Republic in the second century B.C., and of the early Christians, none of whom added ocean exploration to their other accomplishments. M. Reinach himself admits that the association of the crown and anchor in Phrygia may be nothing more than a pun on the name 'Ἄγκυρα' (Angura), and there surely we may let the matter rest.²⁵

(2) The list of thalassocrats may very well, as M. Reinach suggests, go back to Hellanicus and contain a sound nucleus of historical fact. But 'thalassocracy' in the ordinary sense of the term implied military rather than commercial supremacy, the 'seizing of Neptune's trident' rather than the 'winning of the blue ribbon of the Atlantic,' and this was the sense in which the compiler of the list used it.²⁶ The thalassocracy of an essentially inland people like the Phrygians can hardly have amounted to more than a spell of successful piracy, like that of the Gothic thalassocrats in the third or the Russian thalassocrats in the ninth century A.D. In any case, Diodorus is a long way from proving that the Phrygians took part in the Far West trade.

(3) *Difficilis lectio patior*.—Midas of Phrygia was a familiar figure,

quite accurate, as M. Bérard has contended. But it does not follow that they could have found their way to them. Similarly the authors of the *Sinhala* story possessed some accurate information concerning Ceylon and Madagascar, but could not have drawn a chart of the Indian Ocean.

²¹ Herodotus, I. 163.

²² vii. 56 (57), § 197.

²³ *L'Anthropologie*, 1899, pp. 461-2.

²⁴ Hyginus, Fab. 274; Midas rex, Cybele

Illus. Phryx, plumbum album et nigrum prima invenit.

Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, II. 51; see eun. Ikon, Thessalica rex, plumbum Midas regis Phrygiae repererunt.

²⁵ It is significant that both the Phrygian and the Galatian Ancyra struck coins with an anchor-type (B.M. Catalogue, *Gallia*, p. 9; *Phrygia*, p. xxx.).

²⁶ Else how could, e.g., the Lucanianum appear on the list?

Midacritus was nothing more than a name. It is far more likely that Hyginus and Cassiodorus, or their informants, improved Midacritus into Midas than that Pliny or his copyists should have disguised Midas as Midacritus.

It appears, therefore, that the name 'Midacritus' should be allowed to stand. Now the nationality of Midacritus does not admit of doubt, for his name is clearly Greek in structure.²⁷ There remains the question whether Midacritus sailed all the way to tin-land, or merely shipped a cargo at an entrepôt like Tartessus.²⁸ So far as Pliny goes, either version is possible, for we may dissect his text in two different ways: [plumbum-ex-Cassiteride-insula] adportavit or plumbum [ex-Cassiteride-insula-adportavit]. But, as we have seen, Midacritus was not the first Greek to reach Tartessus: the kudos of this discovery belonged to Colaeus. And Midacritus' cargo of tin, if he was the first to load up with tin at Tartessus, could not have created such a sensation as the freight of silver with which Colaeus had dazzled the Greek world. Would Midacritus' cruise have been put on record if his was merely a 'ἐξέρεος πλοῦς' to Colaeus, and 'worth nine oxen in place of a hundred'? Perhaps; but his fame is better explained if he outdistanced Colaeus and brought home tin from its source. Whether Midacritus' 'Tin Island' was West Spain or Brittany or Cornwall cannot be determined. But so much may legitimately be inferred from Pliny's text, that direct contact between Greece and one of the Atlantic tin lands was probably established by Midacritus.

But if this contact was made, it was promptly unmade. Towards the end of the sixth century the Carthaginians closed the Atlantic gates to the Greeks,²⁹ and the Phocaeans, far from following up Midacritus' success, were cut off even from Tartessus.³⁰ Two centuries elapsed before the Carthaginian blockade of the Straits was broken.³¹ But in the days of Alexander the Great the Massiliote explorer Pytheas got safe past Gades and went farthest north of all ancient Mediterranean seamen.³² On this famous journey he certainly

²⁷ Schulten (*Tartessus*, pp. 25-6) points out that the cognate form *Maldacris* is found elsewhere. A name formed from Midas would be nothing unlikely in a Phoenician.

²⁸ So Schulten.

²⁹ Did the Carthaginians show the way to Midacritus or vice versa? There is no evidence of the Phoenicians having sailed out into the Atlantic before the time of Himilco (Avienus, l. 117), whose probable date is c. 500 B.C. (See esp. Schulten, ch. III, on the relations between the Phoenicians and Tartessus.) Midacritus' cruise probably belongs to the later rather than the earlier half of the sixth century, but it cannot have been later than 500 B.C. Thus it is quite possible that Midacritus explored the Atlantic for the benefit of the Carthaginians.

³⁰ Hence Herodotus' agnosticism about the Cassiterides (iii. 118), which finds its

parallel in Polybius' diatribes against Pytheas. These cases, like that of the Norsemen in America, or of Torres in Australian waters, show that an isolated cruise, however successful, may not make any impression on the map.

³¹ The Massiliote voyager Euthymenes, who was probably Herodotus' informant, or rather misinformant, about West Africa (Jacoby, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Euthymenes) should be placed in the sixth century rather than in the fifth.

³² As has often been pointed out, Pytheas' cruise was unknown to Aristotle (d. 322 B.C.) and known to Dioscorides (d. 285 B.C.). Probably it was made possible by Alexander's preparations for a campaign against Carthage, which gave the Carthaginians some more urgent work than to picket the Spanish Main. The date of his cruise would thus be about 325-3 B.C.

visited the stannaries of Cornwall,³⁵ and this sets us asking whether at this point he filled his ship's hold as well as his notebook. Now it may well be, as many scholars have contended, that Pytheas' interests were scientific rather than commercial,³⁶ but since he was a man of slender means³⁷ we must assume that he did not fit out his expedition out of his own purse,³⁸ and it seems unlikely that he should have solicited loans without offering a return. We may therefore conclude that Pytheas brought home some Cornish tin and thus opened trade relations between Greece and Britain.

After Pytheas' sally the door of the West was again closed upon the Greeks. But the conquest of Gades by the Romans in 206 B.C. finally deprived the Carthaginians of their control of the Straits, and though the merchants of Gades endeavoured to maintain the secret of the tin route, they could not as subjects of Rome get rid of interlopers by the drastic Carthaginian policy of 'spuriōs versenken.' Hence in the second or first century B.C. they had no lack of trade rivals to spy out their tracks, and these eventually opened up more than one route to Cornwall.³⁹

Now these intruders are designated by Strabo as 'Ρωμαῖοι'; hence it is usually assumed that they were of the blood of Romulus. But the term 'Ρωμαῖος' was an ambiguous one: by the second century B.C. it had been usurped by the socii Italici residing in foreign parts, who had not been slow to discover that the borrowed prestige of the Roman name was a commercial asset of high value.⁴⁰ Among the traders who sought cover under the Roman umbrella there was a large proportion of Greeks from South Italy.⁴¹ The activity of these Italic Greek traders was never greater than under Roman rule, and towards the end of the Roman Republic they made the harbour of Puteoli into one of the chief ports of the Mediterranean.⁴² On the other hand, the real Romans never took part in the overseas carrying trade.⁴³ Hence it appears likely that Strabo's 'Ρωμαῖοι' were largely of Greek nationality. If such is the case, the overseas tin traffic of the second and first centuries B.C. was partly in Greek hands.

Under the Roman Empire the water-borne trade in tin probably increased in volume with the growing importance of the Spanish mines. There is no direct evidence as to the nationality of the shippers at this period. But it is significant that of 129 Latin inscriptions found at Gades no less than 37 contain a Greek name,⁴⁴ for presumably most of the Greek residents in that city were

³⁵ Diodorus, v. 22. On this passage see p. 174.

³⁶ So Rico Holman, pp. 220, 507; Berger, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*,³ pp. 353-5; Blax, *quon. Pytheas de Mercella*.

³⁷ Strabo, p. 164 (on the authority of Polybius). Polybius' opinion on Pytheas are generally worthless, but he would hardly have invented a detail like this.

³⁸ Cf. 'Eudoxus' successful appeal for contributions to meet the expenses of his cruise round Africa (Strabo, p. 106). See also Dürsteler, *Mosonagoras*, 1917, pp. 181-5.

³⁹ Strabo, pp. 175-6. If, as seems most probable, this passage has been taken bodily from Posidonius, the explorer P. Crassus must be the consul of 97 B.C., not the legatus of Julius Caesar (Schulden, p. 19 and n. 3).

⁴⁰ Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, pp. 238-50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, p. 291.

⁴² Frank, loc. cit.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-3.

⁴⁴ C.I.L. ii. 1724-1922.

traders. It is also noteworthy that direct traffic between Cornwall and Alexandria existed about A.D. 600.⁴³ From this we may infer that the Greeks maintained a share in the Atlantic traffic to the end of ancient history.

The Land Route.—The origin of the land route is a matter of much dispute and requires detailed consideration.

(1) S. Reinach, in accordance with a supposed general law that primitive traders prefer the land to the sea, holds that the tin traffic through Gaul was older than the Tartessus commerce.⁴⁴ In favour of this view it may be said that overland trade routes can be traced back to Neolithic times,⁴⁵ and that these always carried the main traffic in precious goods like amber.⁴⁶ Quite possibly the first samples of Atlantic tin groped their way to the Mediterranean through France. But tin is a relatively bulky article for its value, and when conveyed in quantities it makes a better freight for ships than for quadrupeds.⁴⁷ In point of fact, the distribution of Bronze Age deposits in Gaul disproves a primitive overland trade in tin. The deposits are frequent and continuous along the Channel and Atlantic coasts, but become relatively rare in the interior of Gaul, and are remarkably scanty near the Mediterranean coast.⁴⁸

(2) L. Siret, while admitting the priority of the sea route, pushes back the beginnings of the land traffic beyond 1000 B.C.⁴⁹ For this statement he relies on a tradition that the Greek colony of Rhoda in north-eastern Spain was founded before the First Olympiad,⁵⁰ and on the assumption that the traditional foundation-date of Massilia, c. 600 B.C., lags well behind the true date. But (i) there is no reason to connect Rhoda at any period of its existence with the trade in tin.⁵¹ (ii) The earliest pottery on the site of Massilia cannot be dated back beyond the seventh century B.C.⁵² (iii) Assuming that Massilia had been founded by 1000 B.C., we cannot go on to say that its trade in tin was of equal antiquity: it might have been younger by several centuries.

(3) Müllenhoff assumes an overland trade before the fifth century on the following ground. Greek writers of the fifth century definitely identify the 'amber rivers' of early Greek legend with the Rhône or the Po. This proves that the amber traffic to Massilia was well established by the fifth century and, *pari passu*, the tin trade.⁵³

This argument might be supplemented by the datum in Avienus' *Orn Maritima*, that the journey across Gaul from sea to sea took seven days.⁵⁴ This statement implies regular overland trade, and if it is derived from Avienus' ultimate source,⁵⁵ it indicates that this trade was in existence by 500 B.C.

But Avienus' lines are a treacherous foundation for any argument. There

⁴³ Haverfield, *Mélanges Hoesner*, pp. 262-3.

⁴⁴ *L'Anthropologie*, 1899, p. 401.

⁴⁵ Schuchardt, *Altensagen*, *passim*; Déchelette, II, 393.

⁴⁶ Déchelette, I, 626.

⁴⁷ M. Reinach himself admits the greater expensiveness of land transport (p. 400).

⁴⁸ See the map at the end of Déchelette, Vol. II, Pl. I.

⁴⁹ *L'Anthropologie*, 1908, p. 153 *seq.*

⁵⁰ Strabo, p. 654.

⁵¹ Rhoda, like Euporine, probably dealt in Spanish silver and iron. (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 412.)

⁵² Déchelette, II, 1006.

⁵³ *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, I, 223.

⁵⁴ LI, 148-151.

⁵⁵ So Schulten in his edition of Avienus, and in *Tartessus*, p. 39.

is no means of proving that they are not one of the later interpolations which he has patched into his original fabric by a more or less invisible mending process. Their date therefore remains uncertain.⁵⁸

As for Müllenhoff's theory, this is open to a twofold objection. (i) The early amber routes into Europe went by way of the Rhine or Elbe, and imports into Gaul only commenced about 500 B.C. (ii) Tin and amber came from different sources⁵⁹ and it is unlikely that they ever followed the same overland routes to the Mediterranean. Granted that amber was traded through Massilia by 500 B.C., this proves nothing as to tin.

(4) The fifth century is the period selected by Julian,⁶⁰ Schulten⁶¹ and Hübner.⁶² At this time the conflict between Greeks and Carthaginians reached its climax, and the Carthaginians shut out the Greeks from the sea route to the Atlantic. Under these circumstances the Greeks had urgent reason to establish an alternative route by land. Julian adds that the Greeks now had an opportunity as well as an urgent need to open up a land route, for the *pre-Celtic* Gaul which followed the Celtic occupation of Gaul favoured transcontinental trade.

This theory stands on relatively firm ground. After 500 B.C. the advantage to the Greeks of an overland line of traffic becomes quite evident, and the spread of the La Tène civilisation in Gaul from about that date is proof that the Celtic invasion was beneficent. But in the fifth century the Celts had not permeated all Gaul, and in that region to which the Greeks most required access, Provence and Languedoc, the earlier Ligurian or Iberian populations held their own until the fourth century.⁶³ Now these pre-Celtic peoples were singularly refractory to Greek culture: in Provence the Ligurians took from the Greeks nothing but the art of fortification, and used this art to keep the Greeks out.⁶⁴ Hence, although Mediterranean products such as Greek *mirra* and Neapolitan coral began to reach Gaul in the fifth century, they did so by way of Italy and the Alpine passes.⁶⁵ At this stage Massilia had not yet become a distributing agent for Gaul.

As a crucial test of the spread of Massilian commerce in the hinterland we may take the evidence of coins. The adoption of coinage by Massilia dates back at least to 450 B.C.⁶⁶ Yet of the types struck by Massilia in the fifth

⁵⁸ Avienus' estimate of nine squares with Posidonius' estimate of distances (less than 3000 stades from Narbo to Ocean; Strabo, p. 188). Possibly Posidonius was Avienus' ultimate source in this instance.

⁵⁹ Until 500 B.C. the main source of amber seems to have been Jutland (Duchefette, II, 873). From here to Cornwall or Brittany is a far cry.

⁶⁰ *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 419-11.

⁶¹ *Tafelberg*, pp. 48-60.

⁶² *Argonautica de Hispania*, p. 7.

⁶³ In Seyla, chs. III-IV, (c. 350 B.C.) we find no mention of Gaul in S. France. Provence is Ligurian country, Languedoc is shared by Ligurians and Iberians. In Homalagus, Narbo, curiously enough, is

called a Celtic city (fr. 19). But the remaining places on the French coast are called Ligurian (frs. 20-24). Possibly the 'ἐξὸς Κελτικῆς' of fr. 19 is a blunder by the excerptor Stephanus.

⁶⁴ See Clero, *Aquas Sotissae*, PL. I, and Julian in *Journal des Savants*, 1922, pp. 29-112. Julian points out that Arles, the key of the Rhône valley, did not come securely into Massiliote hands until the second century.

⁶⁵ Duchefette, II, pp. 582-3.

⁶⁶ Head (*Historia Numorum*, p. 6) attributes the earliest issues to 450 B.C. Duchefette (II, 1562) dates back the earliest Massiliote hoard (No. 14 in Blanchet's list) beyond 450 B.C.

century, the archaic 'wheel' or 'crab' obols, not one specimen has been found north of Cavaillon on the Durance, or west of St. Rémy near Arles.⁶⁶ This evidence, it is true, is purely negative, and it might be argued that the Massiliotes dispensed with coins for their hinterland trade, just as did the Carthaginians for all their commercial dealings in the west. But, unlike other Western peoples, the inhabitants of Gaul showed a singular avidity for coins, to the extent of setting up mints of their own before they had fairly mastered the art of striking.⁶⁸ The absence of Massiliote coins in the interior of Gaul during the fifth century is therefore proof of the absence of trade, and if this is true of commerce in general, a *fortiori* it is true of the tin traffic, which had the longest way to go.

(5) The voyage of Pytheas is used as a base line by Sir William Ridgeway,⁶⁷ Dr. Rice Holmes⁶⁸ and Barger,⁶⁹ all of whom conclude that the overland trade to the Atlantic preceded this journey, though Dr. Rice Holmes adds that it need not have been anterior by long. This conclusion is based on two literary texts, both of which are of capital importance for the whole of our inquiry.

Diodorus, v. 22: τῆς γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπορίαν ἐπιμαχίαν ἐξημερμένοι τὰς ἀγορὰς. οἷται τὸν καττίτερον κατασκευάζουσι ἀποτιπιδντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων βύθμους κομίζουσιν εἰς τινὰ νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἰατίη . . . ἐπιπύθει δὲ οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγγχωσίων ὠνούνται καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον περὶ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὡς τριάκοντα καταχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Pliny, iv. 16 (30), § 104: *Timaecus historicus* a Britannia introrsum sex dierum navigatione abesse insulam *Mictim* (v.l. *Ictim*) in qua candidum plumbum proveniat.⁷⁰

Diodorus' account of the workings in Cornwall has all the appearance of being derived from an eyewitness, and the description of the tin entrepôt on Ictis is declared by Pliny to come from Timaeus, who in turn can only have drawn upon Pytheas. Hence Diodorus' version is based on Pytheas, and the conveyance of tin across Gaul, as set forth by him, was already in progress in Pytheas' day.⁷¹

Apparent confirmation of this theory is offered by the Massiliote coinage. Pieces of two new types which were first struck between 400 and 350 B.C.,

⁶⁶ Blanchet, *Revue Numismatique Belge*, 1913, p. 292, and the list of finds on p. 308 *seq.*

⁶⁷ See the numerous instances in Blanchet, *Travail des Monnaies Gauloises*, or Huchet, *L'art Gaulois*.

⁶⁸ *Folklore*, 1890, p. 107. According to Sir William Ridgeway the traffic previous to Pytheas was in Gaulish, not in Greek hands.

⁶⁹ *Ancient Britain*, p. 507.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 323.

⁷¹ This passage has caused much trouble,

owing to the words 'introrsum sex dierum navigatione,' which defy all rational explanation. Presumably 'introrsum' is a translation of 'ἐνδορῆς,' i.e. nearer the Mediterranean or *à l'île tinarienne*. Could this be due to the persistent notion that the Tin Islands, being reached from Spain, were near Spain? In any case, Pliny's Mictis or Ictis may be safely identified with Diodorus' tin depot.

⁷² Rice Holmes, *loc. cit.*; Müllenhoff, *l. c.* p. 472.

the 'Apoll*' obol and the 'lion' drachms, are found on numerous sites of Central and Northern Gaul,⁷² thus indicating a great expansion of Massiliote trade in the fourth century.

Now one point in our textual evidence stands above dispute. The description of the Cornish mines was made in the first instance by Pytheas.⁷³ But does it follow that the account of the thirty days' cavalcade through Gaul is derived from the same source? Though Diodorus at times copied Timaeus, he also drew upon Poseidonius. That he took his information about the overland passage from Poseidonius is raised to a practical certainty by a comparison of the following two passages:—

Diodorus, v. 38: γίνεται δὲ καὶ καττίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβηρίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὐρισκόμενος, ὥς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τρεῖς τεθρυληκῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος καὶ χωννόμενος ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ. ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας ἐστὶ μέγαλλα πολλὰ τοῦ καττίτερου, κατὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ Πικανῇ νησίδῳ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβιβηκότος Καττιτερίδας ὠνομασμένας. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νῆσου διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν καταντικρὺ εἰσμένην Γαλατίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἡπ' ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρὰ τε τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ναρθώνα.

Strabo, p. 147: Ποσειδωνίας δὲ . . . τὸν καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς εὐρίσκεισθαι φησιν, ὥς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττεσθαι· γινεῖσθαι δ' ἐν τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λυσιτανούς Βαρβάρους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττιτερίαις νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι.⁷⁴

Thus our literary evidence fails us. And the coins speak in an uncertain voice. The fourth-century types of Massilia remained unchanged for several centuries, and although an index of the age of Massiliote coin finds might be obtained by observing the condition of the extant pieces, and by ascertaining their weight, which in the Massiliote series becomes lighter and lighter as time goes on,⁷⁵ yet these data have not so far been provided in sufficient quantities. Therefore it is difficult to distinguish the specimens which belong to the fourth century from those of a later period: for all that we know, the pieces found in Central and Northern Gaul are of the third rather than the fourth century.

As for the remaining archaeological evidence, this tells as much against an overland traffic in the fourth century as in previous ages.⁷⁶

(6) *A priori*, it is an obvious suggestion that the cross-country trade through Gaul was the result of Pytheas' cruise and therefore began in the later years of the fourth century. This is the view of Sir John Rhys.⁷⁷ In support of this theory it may be pointed out that Pytheas appears to have noted the

⁷² Massiliot, *Bec. Num. Belg.*, 1913, pp. 220-22.

⁷³ It is generally admitted that Timaeus' authority can have been none other than Pytheas.

⁷⁴ On this point see esp. Ungew.

Numismatisches Museum, 1883, p. 164.

⁷⁵ Head (*loc. cit.*) gives some striking differences of weight between the earlier and the later issues.

⁷⁶ Dechelette, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ *Celtic Britain* (3rd ed.), p. 7.

large volume of the French rivers issuing into the Atlantic,⁷⁵ which suggests that he also acquainted his Massiliote compatriots with their luggage-carrying capacity. But in point of fact Pytheas' cruise had no immediate practical results. A few Greek men of learning, such as Timaeus and Eratosthenes, accepted his data, but their credulity was sharply challenged by Polybius. This spectacle of doctors differing is clear proof that Pytheas' journey had no effect on the Massiliote traders, else this controversy could never have arisen.⁷⁶

So far, then, our conclusion is that the overland trade in tin was not anterior to 300 B.C. How soon after this date was it established?

The earliest piece of valid literary evidence is the following passage from Strabo, p. 190: Πολύβιος (ἐκρήσθη) ὅτι Μασσηλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιζούντων Σκιπίων οὐδεὶς εἶχε λόγον οὐδὲν μῆμης ἄξιον ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλωτός.

At first glance these words might be taken as evidence against the existence of a trans-continental traffic, for do they not say that Scipio could obtain no knowledge of Britain at the south French ports? But, as has often been pointed out, the ignorance of the Massiliote or Narbonese traders may have been more fictitious than real. Just as the Carthaginians and Gaditans kept their knowledge of the sea route to themselves, so their Greek rivals would not be likely to give away the secret of the land track to a third party. Besides, the ignorance of the Massiliotes concerning Britain, even if it were real, would not suffice to prove that they did not know their way across France or could not fetch home the tin, once it was landed on the French coast. The real crux of Strabo's text is in the statement that men of Corbilo sojourned at the ports of the southern French coast. These visitors without doubt were traders, and the situation of Corbilo near the mouth of the Loire indicates that their trade connexions extended across the Channel to Cornwall.

Here, then, is satisfactory evidence of an overland trade in tin in the days of Scipio Aemilianus (c. 135 B.C.). But the traffic may have been considerably older than Scipio, and a survey of the archaeological record from the third century B.C. will show that this was in all probability the period in which the inter-sea route was opened. The third-century finds afford clear proof that the barrier which had shut off the Massiliotes from the hinterland had at last been broken down. Massilia was now the gate by which Italian pottery and lamps, Hellenistic bronzes and the local coral from Hyères entered Gaul, and the Rhône valley was fulfilling its natural function as the principal link between Mediterranean and Central Europe.⁸⁰ At this stage, too, the

⁷⁵ Timaeus (*fr.* 38, ed. C. Müller) attributed the tides of the Atlantic to the inflow of the French rivers. His knowledge of these was almost certainly derived from Pytheas.

⁷⁶ The incredulity of the Greeks in regard to Pytheas may to us seem incredible. But the same unqualified scepticism was shown by their contemporaries to Marco

Polo and to Sebastian Cabot. So long as there existed no authoritative tribunal like the Royal Geographical Society to test the claims of explorers, it was equally possible for an impostor to gain credence and for an honest man to be turned down.

⁸⁰ Diebolt, *ib.* pp. 384, 373, 399, 1450, 1577.

diffusion of Greek coinage over Gaul is no longer a matter of doubt. The Massiliote types which we have already discussed are supplemented with bronze issues of the same town, with occasional pieces from Rhoda and numerous specimens from Emporiae.⁸¹ At the same time the types of all these towns, of Philip of Macedon and of Tarentum are reproduced in a profusion of local Gaulish imitations.⁸² The Massiliote bronze and the Rhoda coinage do not appear to date back beyond the third century, but the mint at Emporiae was opened about 350 B.C., and the prototypes of the Gaulish 'Philipps' were all struck before 336 B.C.⁸³ As the 'Philipps' were soon replaced by the still more famous issues of Alexander, their vogue in Gaul probably commenced by the end of the fourth century, and the opening of the Gaulish mints which imitated them presumably took place not long after. These data suggest 300 B.C. as the starting-point of the trade between Massilia and the hinterland, and this year may also be taken to mark the beginning of the overland tin traffic.

How long did this trade last? Some distance at any rate into the first century B.C., for it is mentioned by Posidonius in the clearest of all our literary references to ancient tin routes: (*Ποσειδώνιος φησι τὸν καττίτερον ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι*).⁸⁴

Whether it outlasted the century is not so certain. The destruction of Corbilo, which is mentioned by Strabo as an accomplished fact⁸⁵ and should probably be connected with Julius Caesar's exhibition of frightfulness among the Veneti in 56 B.C., suggests that no more British tin was being shipped to the Loire. And the absence of all personal references by Strabo to the Massilian tin trade is presumptive evidence that this trade was a thing of the past, for Strabo almost certainly visited Massilia and had some first-hand knowledge of its commerce. But these arguments are not conclusive, and against them there is the fact that the bronze coins struck by Augustus in Gaul reproduced the Massiliote type,⁸⁶ which indicates that Massiliote trade had retained its hold on Gaul to the end of the first century B.C.

But if the overland tin trade continued to the end of the pre-Christian era, it could not survive the closing down of the Cornish mines, which, as we have seen (p. 168), probably took place in the early days of the Roman Empire.

The period of the tin traffic through Gaul may therefore be defined as extending from 300 to 50 B.C. or a little later.

⁸¹ The copiousness of these issues is probably due to the fact that Emporiae lay closest of Greek towns to the Spanish silver mines.

⁸² The Tarentine coins, said possibly some of the 'Philipps,' entered Gaul by way of the Adriatic and Po valley (Diéletole, II, p. 1570). But the chief distributing agent was Massilia (Blanchet, pp. 305-6).

⁸³ For the dates of the Rhoda and Emporiae pieces, see Head, p. 10. Head assigns the Massilian bronzes to the second and first centuries. Blanchet holds that

it was biased especially towards the end of the third century and was first struck in imitation of the bronze coins of Syracuse (317 B.C. *sup.*).

⁸⁴ Strabo, p. 147. As we have seen (p. 174), Posidonius is probably Diocleus' authority for saying that the transit took thirty days. Hence we cannot follow Blaquais (*Les Cassitérides*, p. 55) in ascribing this time schedule to Julius Caesar.

⁸⁵ Strabo, p. 186.

⁸⁶ Blanchet, p. 301.

A subsidiary question on which scholars are much divided relates to the particular line of route of the tin caravans through France. Did the tin follow the Seine-Rhône, the Loire-Rhône, or the Garonne-Aude track? ⁸⁷

The literary evidence tells in favour of the Loire and the Garonne routes. Not much stress, perhaps, should be laid on Diodorus' estimate that the average time of transit was thirty days. This is a somewhat scanty time allowance for a journey between Marseille and Le Havre (c. 650 miles) or Boulogne (c. 700 miles), but is adequate for the trip from Nantes or St. Nazaire (c. 550 miles), and quite ample for the route between Bordeaux and Narbo (c. 250 miles). More important is the mention of Corbilo as a starting-point and of Narbo as a terminus of a tin route, for the former clearly served the central and the latter the southern route. ⁸⁸

The coin-record, on the other hand, suggests that the southern route was less used than the central and northern ones, for Greek coins are relatively scarce in Languedoc except near the coast line. ⁸⁹ The remains of Greek pottery ⁹⁰ and bronzes ⁹¹ are commonest on the northern route, which was also the regular track for the conveyance of lead from Britain to the Mediterranean in the second and third centuries A.D. ⁹²

The most probable conclusion is that the Loire route was the oldest, but that all three lines of traffic eventually came into use.

One question remains: How far did the Greek traders go to fetch their tin? Not to its source in Britain. This much may be inferred from the great activity of the Veneti as cross-Channel carriers, which lasted to the days of Julius Caesar, and from the inaccurate notions of the Greeks about the west coast of France, which persisted to the time of Strabo. ⁹³ Nor yet to the Atlantic seaboard. Except an isolated hoard of Massiliote coins on the island of Jersey, Greek coins have not been found beyond the line Lectoure (near Toulouse)-Chinon-Chartres-Evreux. ⁹⁴ These points may therefore be taken as the general limit to which Greek traders in Gaul advanced. On the other hand, the wide diffusion of Greek coins over the greater part of the overland

⁸⁷ The Seine route is advocated by Déchelette (ii. p. 584), Julian (i. p. 410) and Frank (p. 254); the Loire route by Rice Holmes (p. 507); the Garonne route by Haverfield (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. xviii p. 119). Siret (p. 159) votes for the Loire and Garonne, Ridgeway (p. 107) and Schafften (p. 30) for the Loire and Seine, Bémier (Daremberg-Saglio; s.v. stannum, col. 1461) for all three.

⁸⁸ If the letter of Diodorus and Pliny was St. Michael's Mount near Penzance, as Dr. Rice Holmes has made practically certain (pp. 499-507), a port on the Loire would be the natural receiving-point for the tin on the French coast.

Julian (p. 410, n. 5) and Bémier (loc. cit.) suggest that Narbo drew its tin from the more northerly routes via Arles. But any tin that went down the Rhône valley to Arles would hardly take the long road from that point to Narbo instead of the short cut to Massilia.

⁸⁹ Blanchet, pp. 318-19.

⁹⁰ Déchelette, II 584.

⁹¹ Corot, *Bulletin Monumental*, 1901, p. 572.

⁹² Bémier, *Revue Archéologique*, 1921, p. 63.

⁹³ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, ii. pp. 235-6.

⁹⁴ Blanchet, pp. 319-22.

routes make it probable that the Greeks controlled these traffic lines for the greater part of their length.²³

Summary.—The overland trade of the Mediterranean peoples with the Atlantic regions did not pass through the Greek ports of the southern French coast until a comparatively late age. The tin traffic through Massilia in particular can only be traced in the last three centuries B.C. Greek merchants during these centuries penetrated more than half-way through France, but did not reach the Atlantic seaboard.

The sea route to the centres of Atlantic trade was probably discovered by a Phocaean captain in the sixth century B.C., and was certainly explored by the Massiliote Pytheas in the fourth century. After the fall of Carthage this route was opened up by Italian navigators, most of whom probably were Italiote Greeks, and it is likely that these participated in the overseas traffic to the Atlantic so long as this traffic lasted.

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²³ The Narbo route may have passed into Italian hands after the establishment of the Roman colony at that point (120 B.C.). But it was probably originated by Greek traders, for the merchants whom

Scipio interviewed at Narbo were clearly not Romans, and the Massihotes had for centuries had a small colony named 'Ayaθt near the mouth of the Aude.

POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS

This paper is intended as a contribution towards the study of only certain Ionian pot fabrics found at Naucratis. I have, therefore, merely drawn attention to the presence of the *Bucchero* from Lesbos, which demands a much fuller treatment than I am able to give it. I have also only briefly referred to the Clazomenian Black-faced and Pale Slip Ware because this must be studied in connexion with the fragments of the same ware from Daphnae. Throughout the paper in using the name 'Naucratis Fabric' I am referring only to the White Slip 'Chalice Style,' which may or may not have been made at Naucratis.

In the early eighties of last century, when Professor Flinders Petrie and Professor Ernest Gardner published their account of the first excavations at Naucratis, any strictly systematic classification of the pottery found on the site was practically impossible, owing to the lack of material and data for comparison and identification. Since that date and even since the early years of this century, when Dr. Hogarth made the last excavation of the site, there has been a vast increase in archaeological knowledge and much material is now available. It is in the light of some of this material and this knowledge, especially of that gained from recent excavations either partially or wholly published, that I have ventured to attack the problems presented by the numerous and varied fragments of pottery which were found during the course of both excavations at Naucratis. My studies have had to be limited, practically, to the collections of fragments in the British Museum, the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam; but I can safely say, especially in reference to the Naucratis ware proper, that not one single piece of evidence of any real importance derived from accounts of other finds, or from photographs of fragments from other collections, has in any degree refuted, but rather on the contrary has established the conclusions which I had already drawn. Until, however, the finds of pottery at Miletus and Delos are fully published, and still more, until the Museums of South Russia with their seemingly rich stores of Ionian vases are again available, any theories can only be tentative. Still, I believe that, with so much material available, an analysis, with illustrations, of some of the selected and, I hope, most important fragments from Naucratis in our Museums may be of some help for others towards the solution of the problems of the origin, distribution, inter-relation and development of the different branches of Eastern Greek Pottery. I am not going to touch either on the literary allusions nor on the historical or epigraphical questions, nor on the controversy as to the date of the foundation of Naucratis. This is less necessary now, for in view of more newly-acquired knowledge, and with it the possibility of establishing certain fixed dates in the history of early Greek

art, the general consensus of archaeological opinion has so completely veered round in favour of a seventh-century dating, that one authority now differs from another only in putting the date in the third or the fourth quarter of the century. Dr. Johannsen¹ and Dr. Frickenhaus² agree in putting the date at about 650, and both use this as a fixed point on which to build their theories. Dr. Hogarth³ and Mr. Edgar, in their last account of the finds, had already somewhat gone back on their former view,⁴ that nothing had been found at Naucratis inconsistent with the date of the settlement by Amasis, and left the question open for revision. Even Dr. Hirschfeld⁵ was led to admit that if new archaeological evidence demanded an earlier date, the epigraphical evidence was not sufficient to contradict it. The evidence with which I am concerned; that of the early pottery, does, I believe, demand at least a late seventh-century date, and this belief is based largely on the comparison of the finds at Naucratis with similar finds in other places, where a more or less definite dating is possible. Miss Lorimer,⁶ in her study of certain vases of Naucratis, left this question to be answered:—'How much further can the process of parcelling out the motley fabrics of Naucratis among her equally motley population be carried?' I propose to try and answer this question, but in another form, namely, 'How far can the finds of pottery at Naucratis, viewed in relation to those in other places, be used to verify what we know from historical sources of the history of Naucratis and the different elements which entered into its constitution?' By historical I mean here only the passage in Herodotus⁷ giving the names of the twelve Poles which co-operated in the reorganisation of Naucratis in the reign of Amasis. So far as possible I will try and show what traces in the way of pottery any one of these Poles left behind them: and what evidence there is for the presence of any of them before the final reorganisation. The names Herodotus gives are these:—Teos, Phaselis, Halicarnassus, Phocaea, Cnidos, Lesbos, Samos, Aegina, Chios, Rhodes, Miletus, Clazomenae. For the first three cities there is no evidence of any pottery—nor indeed of any part they played in the life of the city—except perhaps dedications on pots.

Phocaea also leaves no trace at Naucratis itself, but Frickenhaus⁸ suggests that it may have been the Phocaeans who brought in their ships to Emporion the blue faience ware that is usually thought to have been made at Naucratis.

Cnidos.—Prinz⁹ believes that the closed eta which appears in inscriptions on a small group of cups of exactly similar shape, in Dorian dialect, precludes the view held both by E. Gardner¹⁰ and Kirchhoff,¹¹ that these are Melian inscriptions. This closed eta, he says, appears only in the Cnidian alphabet, though the half-circle for the omicron and the whole for the omega are common to both. He suggests, therefore, that Cnidos may be one of the,

¹ *Les vases Sicyoniens*, p. 184.

² *Ann. del Inst. d'Etud. Catalane*, p. 230.

³ *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 108.

⁴ *B.S.A.* v. p. 44.

⁵ *Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Egypte*, p. 179.

⁶ *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 120.

⁷ Herod. ii. 178.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 201.

⁹ *Aus Naucratis*, p. 82.

¹⁰ *Naucratis*, i. p. 60.

¹¹ *Alphabet*, 45.

probably numerous, homes of the Ionian kylix. Their very wide distribution over practically the whole of the Ionian world and their rare occurrence on the mainland of Greece—only two have been found at Olympia¹²—would make it probable that they are an Ionian *καύρη*. Miletus may possibly have been the centre of distribution for this ware if not also, perhaps, a centre of production.

For the description of the clay, technique and distribution I refer to *Ath. Mitt.*, xv. p. 68, Prinz, *Aus Naukratis*, p. 81, and to Thera, ii. p. 217; and for the illustrations of the different shapes to Haecckel and Sieveking's Catalogue of the Munich Vase Collection, Pl. XVIII. Nos. 480-531. A metal form of this kylix with a low foot and offset rim like No. 480 was found in an early grave at Syracuse¹³ with a Proto-Corinthian 'cuoriforme' *Leecythos*. The fabric must evidently have started some time in the seventh century, for one of the kylikes was found in a grave at Thera¹⁴ with Proto-Corinthian pots; on it is an inscription belonging to 'the second stage of the Theraan alphabet, and as the latest stage is not later than the beginning of the sixth century, this stage must be therefore earlier.' But though they were an early fabric, they must have lasted on as a belated fashion well into the middle of the sixth century, for a number were found in the cemetery at Samos.¹⁵

I think that all the known varieties have been found at Naukratis, from the more primitive rough shapes up to the elegant, finely glazed variety with the high foot. The offset rims, of which there are great numbers in the British Museum, are decorated either with delicately painted or reserved lines on the polished clay surface, or with painted wreaths of laurel or myrtle (Fig. 1), set at times with scarlet or white berries. The interior is either covered entirely with the dark paint or is decorated with fine lines painted on bands reserved on this dark ground.

There are fragments too found both at Naukratis¹⁶ and at Vroulia¹⁷ of kylikes decorated like those in Berlin¹⁸ and the British Museum which come from Camirus. These have tiny plastic rams' heads set between knuckle-bones on a reserved band, decorated with groups of spots, which goes round the bowl between the handles. Among the fragments from Naukratis in the British Museum there is a tiny bull's head (Fig. 2) with eyes painted white with black pupils; some of the knuckle-bones are decorated with white or black spots; there are also small hands—one wearing a spotted bracelet—which were set close to the handles.

Besides these, there is one fragment which must belong to this class, but its decoration is unique (Fig. 3). On the finely polished offset rim a band of ducks is painted in silhouette; the fine lines which so often decorate the rim are here incised, and passing through the body form the feathers of the wings. On the back is a laurel wreath, beneath which there are traces of some animal scene. The style of the ducks and the groups of spots in the

¹² *Olympia*, iv. "Die Bronzen," p. 202. p. 143.

¹³ *Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, p. 181.

¹⁴ *Thera*, ii. p. 33.

¹⁵ Bastula, *Aus Ionischen Nekropolen*,

¹⁶ *Naukratis*, i. Pl. XIII. 1.

¹⁷ *Kineb. Fouilles de Vroulia*, p. 147.

¹⁸ *Berlin Vas. Inv.*, 3,678.

field would suggest a Fikellura origin, but incision in this fabric is unknown, now that the incision on the Altenburg amphora is said to be a later addition. It is not surprising to find in Ionian Naucratis that the Naucratis potter chose this shape of kylix for his white slip fabric, and not only the shape but the laurel wreath on the rim. There are three fragments of such rims and



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

part of the body and foot in the British Museum with the white slip and the dark interior.

Samos.—If Samos is the home of the Fikellura fabric, then there is abundant evidence in this pottery for the presence of Samians at Naucratis. There are



FIG. 3.

a large number of fragments in the British Museum representing almost every phase of the fabric, and almost every scheme of decoration. Some have the animal scene on the shoulder and crescent or other forms of decoration below. Some have the water birds, others the scene with dancing men: there are the



FIG. 4.

lecythoid amphorae with crisscross pattern of fine spots—and fragments of one like the oinochoe²⁰ in the Louvre and the fragments of another found at Samos,²¹ decorated with stripes set at angles to each other. But in addition to all these more familiar forms, there are some fragments in the British Museum and the Ashmolean (Fig. 4) of an unusually fine and delicate technique

²⁰ Pottier, *Cat. A.* 321.

²¹ *Op. cit.* Pl. III. 5.

belonging to what must be tiny phialae or bowls not more than perhaps three inches in breadth, with a very hard and fine rosy-white slip. Both the clay and the slip and the restraint in the use of ornament and the ornaments themselves, parallels for all of which can be found elsewhere in this fabric, suggest this attribution. It is perhaps such a phiale that the reveller on the Altenburg amphora holds in his hand. On one fragment is a dog of the female sex like the dog on the fragment of a Fikellura pot from Daphnae;²² on the other side of this is the star pattern.

The little fragment with the head of Busiris (Fig. 5), if such it be, has always been called Naucratisite, but this fine reserve for detail on a human figure is unknown in this fabric, whereas it is the common technique of the Fikellura ware. If it is part of a Heracles and Busiris scene, it is of special interest as being a rare example of a mythological subject in this fabric. Both the clay and the colour of the slip confirm this attribution.

Lesbos is represented at Naucratis by the large quantity of Bucchero, some having once had traces of polychrome decoration, which has now completely disappeared.²³

Rhodes.—The publication of the excavation at Vroulia by Dr. Kinch and his classification of the white slip pottery from Kamiros are of especial importance for the dating and identification of much of the pottery found at Naucratis. This place, of which the modern name is Vroulia, was the last southern port of call for ships going to Egypt, and Kinch²⁴ thinks must have owed its prosperity, like Naucratis, to the Philhellenic policy of Psammetik I. and the consequent increase in Egyptian trade. The small number of dead in the cemetery shows that the town could not have been in existence for more than about a century: the lowest limit is given by the appearance in the houses, not in the graves, of fragments of two Attic 'little Master' cups, and the earliest by the similarity of the furniture of the graves to those at Gela, except that at Gela the type of certain Proto-Corinthian lecythi is earlier.²⁵ This would be accounted for if Vroulia were founded some thirty years later than Gela. Kinch therefore dates the settlement at Vroulia roughly between 650 and 570 or 560. Now, except for the small quantity of Geometric ware at Vroulia, the finds here and at Naucratis, where only one Geometric sherd was found (Fig. 6), are so similar that it would seem to be impossible that more than a short interval of time can separate the two. Of the early fabrics found on both sites, the most important for a seventh-century dating are the Bird Bowls, for in them we get the direct survival, which cannot be far removed in time, of a Geometric style which closely resembles that of Rhodes. For this reason, Phuhl²⁶ thinks they must be a Rhodian fabric; but at the same time their wide distribution in the Ionian world might suggest that this, like the other class of pot, the Ionian kylikes, was an Ionian *κοινή*, with several homes in the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor and the islands, and they differ, wherever found, little from one another, and then only in unimportant details, mainly of

²² *Tavris*, II. Pl. XXVII.

²³ *Naucratis*, II. pp. 50 ff.

²⁴ *Fouilles de Vroulia* p. 5.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 89.

²⁶ *Göttingen gel. Anz.* 1915, p. 331.

technique and points of decoration, though I imagine the clay must differ according to the district in which they were made, if they have not one single home. The fragments of some found by Hogarth²⁷ at Ephesus have, for instance, a finely polished surface, one has a slip; the painting is most carefully finished, and painted bands take the place of rays, whilst others from Naucratis are roughly made and coarsely painted. Dr. Kinch has dealt so fully with the technique and decoration and distribution of these bowls that I need only refer to him for all details and give a brief summary of the main points



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

of the fragments in our Museums. The shape never varies—a wide-mouthed bowl with a ring foot: the interior is covered with a dark paint laid directly on the clay, which varies from black-brown to reddish-brown in the firing. It is either left plain, or is decorated with bands of red or white, or red and white set at varying intervals. In the centre of several of the fragmentary bowls from Naucratis there is a circle left in reserve on which in one is painted a star, in another a rosette with petals alternately inverted. Both at Naucratis



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

and at Vroulia and in these two places alone is found a rare variant from the ordinary decoration of these Bird Bowls. In all other examples, and there are many in both these places, there is one water-bird (rarely two as on the bowl from Camiros in the British Museum (1901.7-11.10), which stands on the upper of the two lines drawn round the bowl. But on one single fragment from Vroulia²⁸ and on fragments of perhaps four or five bowls from Naucratis (Fig. 7), in the British Museum and the Ashmolean, the legs of the bird are dangling in a free field, possibly in the act of swimming, with only rosettes in

²⁷ *B.M. Excav. at Ephesus*, p. 227.

²⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 135.

the field. The presence of water may perhaps be indicated by the unfilled rays, which are with but few exceptions found on all these bowls: these radiate up quite unsymmetrically from the base and often reach to the very rim of the bowl, perhaps like the petals of a water-lily.

Perhaps the hybrid variety (Fig. 8), in which a rosette takes the place of the metope lines, may be a transition between the lingering geometric and the orientalising styles.

Besides these birds, there are the other forms of less geometric decoration which Kinch has illustrated.²⁹ From Naucratis there is in the British Museum (Fig. 9) part of a bowl, on the rim of which is painted a hanging lotus with a dark spot on either side. This form is found again beneath the handle of some of the later 'palmette and lotus' bowls, which I believe are Rhodian. Others (Fig. 10) again are decorated with groups of spot-rosettes set sometimes between vertical lines. Though some of these have the unfilled rays, others have bands of dark paint for the decoration of the lower part of the bowl. There are many fragments of these from Naucratis, some of which, like one found at Gela,³⁰ are often of exceptionally fine technique with a carefully polished surface.

Eye Bowls.—It may only be a matter of chance that the bowls of the same shape and type as the Bird Bowls, but with this particular form of decoration, with eyes, were found at Naucratis and not at Vroulia. On the other hand, this may confirm the suggestion made by Gardner,³¹ that these are one phase of the Naucratic fabric, or, what I believe to be more probable, the suggestion of Pfuhl,³² that these are a local variety made perhaps as a speciality in a Rhodian factory at Naucratis, for one has an inscription painted before firing.³³ He calls them, therefore, Rhodian-Naucratic. I do not believe that they belong to the Naucratic fabric. Firstly, because a very special characteristic of the Naucratic chalice is missing; the Naucratic potter always from the first laid the dark paint on a white slip—here the dark paint is laid directly on the clay; and secondly, the 'eye decoration,' which is so common on the Rhodian pots, oinochoai and plates, I have not yet found on one single fragment of Naucratic ware. These bowls, too, differ from the last class only in having a slip—usually not a very good one—of a brownish-white colour, and in the scheme of decoration, either with the conventional eyes and nose set between groups of red or white vertical lines or rays (Fig. 11), or with these lines or rays alone (Fig. 12). There are examples of both of these forms of decoration on fragments from Naucratis, and several of the last only, from the excavations of the temple of Apollo in Chios.³⁴ This last evidence would perhaps help to confirm the suggestion of a Naucratic factory for, as Dr. Kuruniotis points out, practically nothing except fragments of Naucratic ware were found on this site.³⁵

As a rule, the dark interior of these bowls, like that of the Bird Bowls, if

²⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 136.

³⁰ *Mon. Ant.* xvi. p. 610.

³¹ *Naucratis*, ii. p. 41.

³² *Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, i.

p. 148.

³³ *Naucratis*, ii. p. 41.

³⁴ *Δελφες*, ii. p. 201.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* ii. p. 206.

not left plain, is decorated with polychrome bands, but there are fragments of three from Naucratis in the British Museum in which perhaps we get a forecast of the decoration of the interior of some of the Naucratic chalices. On one



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

is part of a white lotus—on another a palmette in brilliant red and white (Fig. 13), on the third a white palmette. Just as the Naucratic potter borrowed the shape and decoration of the Ionian kylix, so also he borrowed the



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

ray decoration and even the doubled form of the eye bowl for his own fabric. It may be too that these are the prototype of the later Black-figure Eye Bowls, for the shape and the form of decoration are the same.

Vroulian Cups and Amphorae.—These (Fig. 14) have been so fully described and analysed by Kinch,³⁶ with many illustrations of both the cups and amphorae in different Museums, that I will only supplement his account by noting certain points in the fragments of the fabric from Naucratis which are in the British Museum. Among them are no parts of a foot, so that I cannot confirm the presence of the spiral mark which Kinch³⁷ thinks must have been the factory mark of this whole class, and which is found both on earlier geometric pots and also on the late perhaps archaizing pseudo-geometric bowl in the British Museum (60.2-1.1). This factory, he thinks, must have been in Rhodes, as, beyond the fragments from Naucratis and some perfect examples from other places in Rhodes, none have been found on any other site except in South Russia: These Vroulian cups too clearly bear the marks of their descent from Rhodian Geometric both in technique and style.

Our fragments are mainly parts of the offset rims of these Vroulian cups, some decorated with the characteristic inverted triangles (Fig. 15)—a sort of double axe pattern—others with the dog-tooth patterns painted and incised.

There is one variant of the circle (Fig. 16) decoration which I illustrate. On another fragment is another example of the use of the enclosed palmette or floral volute, which seems to have had a wide diffusion in Rhodes. In slightly varying form it is found on a ring vase from Vroulia: ³⁸ it is combined into a pattern to form the central ornament of the Rhodian dish in the Villa Giulia,³⁹ and of a late Rhodian plate found at Naucratis; it is used straightened out on one of the bands of decoration inside a lotus and palmette Rhodian bowl found at Naucratis,⁴⁰ and it is in the field of certain of the early coins of Ialyssos⁴¹ and on some of the Rhodian pithoi.

I can add a fragment of another amphora (Fig. 17), belonging to type A, to the five which Kinch records.⁴² Pfuhl suggests that besides the Eastern Greek metal prototype with inlay of colour, we may see the influence of the Proto-Corinthian fabric in this Vroulian technique.

We shall find this Vroulian technique used later by the Rhodian potter as a variant for contrast on the neck or shoulder of the white slip *deimoi* (Fig. 18) and inside the lotus and palmette bowls, which I believe are Rhodian. A clue for a date is given by the strong resemblance between the decoration of the amphorae and of some of the *situlae*⁴³ found at Daphnæ, especially the uncommon use of the bud enclosed in a circle, which is found on both. It is this similarity of decoration which gives support to the theory that these *situlae* were made by Greeks, possibly Rhodians living at Daphnæ.

There are fragments at Naucratis of the shoulders of two polychrome *oinochoai* with a tongue pattern painted red and white with incised outline like others which were found at Vroulia.⁴⁴ Another was found at Thera.⁴⁵

³⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 162 L.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 162. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, p. 149.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 46.

³⁹ *Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 289.

⁴⁰ *Naucratis*, II, Pl. VIII. 2.

⁴¹ *B.M. Cat. Coins*, p. 226.

⁴² *Op. cit.* p. 186.

⁴³ *Tunis*, II, p. 62.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 190.

⁴⁵ *Thera*, II, p. 222.

The technique of these would seem to be an Eastern Greek imitation of the Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian ware of the same style.

There are three little polychrome kylikes in the British Museum (one



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

from Ephesus, one from Cyprus, one from Camiros) which are almost unequalled for technique. They are covered with black glaze except for a narrow band of reserve round the handles, and are decorated inside and out with narrow



FIG. 15.



FIG. 16.

polychrome bands. There is a fragment of such a kylix from Naucratis of which the glaze is more brilliant and the colours brighter. One was found at Vroulia;⁴⁵ two at Syracuse with a lecythos⁴⁷ 'otriforme'⁴⁶ and one at Narce;⁴⁸



FIG. 17.

'il più fine esemplare di fittile antico che io abbia mai visto.' There are several of these also in the Munich Museum.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 78.

⁴⁶ *Nat. d. Scat.* 1895, p. 131.
J.R.S.—VOL. XLIV.

⁴⁷ *Mon. Ant.* iv, p. 482.

⁴⁸ *Musées Vite. Scat.* Pl. XVIII: 493.
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Miletus.—Evidence from pottery of the presence of Milesians at Naucratis depends on whether the large class of vases which used to be called Rhodian is to be considered rather as Milesian. I know that the discussion as to an exact place of origin cannot either be decisive or of any real value, except that, for my point of view, the insistence of Prinz⁵⁰ on Miletus as the home is of all importance only if it entails the transference of the whole incised phase to the Naucratic fabric without distinction. There is in the Naucratic fabric an incised phase with both a human and an animal style, but it is, I believe, quite distinct and cannot be put in the same category as the last phase of the Rhodian ware. I feel more confidence in challenging the views of Prinz because his own words⁵¹ would rather lead to the belief that he has not studied in great detail the unsorted collection of hundreds of fragments from Naucratis in the British Museum. The opinions of archaeologists, to quote only the most recent, are divided. Buschor⁵² retains the traditional name of Rhodian, and considers that Miletus need not have done more than distribute the ware. Poulsen⁵³ inclines to Rhodes as the home in view of the strong Phoenician influence in the pottery, which points to Rhodes rather than to Miletus. Pfuhl⁵⁴ calls the style Rhodian-Milesian, and thinks it may have originated in a great centre like Rhodes or Miletus with no certain evidence for either, except that, as is universally conceded, its distribution follows mainly the track of Milesian influence. Both Prinz and Johannsen⁵⁵ think that the case for Miletus is proved; Prinz⁵⁶ mainly on the grounds of the great importance of Miletus as a commercial centre and the richest Ionian town of Asia Minor, and of the large finds of this pottery on the site in the temple of Athena.⁵⁷ Johannsen uses the same argument 'of the rich find': the further grounds on which he bases his conviction are that 'the wide distribution of the pottery in E. Greece and its rarity in the Sicilian colonies of Rhodes speak for a Milesian origin.' But if the find spots are to count, then the catalogue of Prinz⁵⁸ shows how very large the proportion of pots found in Rhodes is in comparison with those found on other sites, though the number from Sicily, especially from Gela, representing all the phases, is by no means inconsiderable. Just so in South Russia, where one would expect to find all phases of the fabric if Miletus were the home, 'alt-Milesische Tonware ist nur in vereinzelt exemplaren gefunden,' unless fresh evidence disproves this. (I quote from Von Stern's report of the finds in South Russia.)⁵⁹ Johannsen's other argument, that no connexion can be traced between the Geometric style of Rhodes and the white slip fabric, might be met by Poulsen's⁶⁰ belief that a different Phoenician prototype lies behind each style. It is possible too that behind the white slip banded ware lies not a ceramic but a forensic or textile prototype. However this may be, the *onus probandi* lies on those who deny

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 33.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* p. 87.

⁵² *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, 2nd edit. p. 75.

⁵³ *Der Orient und frühgeschichtliche Kunst*, p. 91.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 137.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 109.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 33.

⁵⁷ Wiegand, *S. Ber. Akad. Berl.* 1905, p. 345.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 122.

⁵⁹ *Arch. Anz.* 1900, p. 152.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 23.

this connexion in the Rhodian ware to show that it can be traced in the Milesian find of Geometric and orientalisising white slip ware. Wiegand⁶¹ only says 'that the Geometric is rather Boeotian in character.'

I am pleading thus at length for a Rhodian origin, though not in the least excluding other possibilities, both for the reason I have given and because I believe that both Bochlau and Kinch (whether the fabric be called Milesian or Rhodian) are right in tracing a quite continuous development of style in the white slip fabric from the earliest to the latest phase, the last stage of the development being characterised by the use of incision. This, at least in the present state of our knowledge, cannot be admitted according to Prinz and Pfuhl, if a Milesian origin is insisted on, for as yet no single fragment (I quote Prinz)⁶² or, as Pfuhl says,⁶³ 'ein paar scherben,' of the incised phase have been found at Miletus. I lay stress on other possibilities not only for the place



FIG. 18

of origin, but for other workshop sites: for instance, it would seem to be quite possible in view of the large numbers of fragments of the incised phase found at Naucratis, that there may have been perhaps a Rhodian factory here, where pots at least of this later phase were made. I shall continue to call the whole fabric Rhodian, though perhaps Kinch's name Cameiran is better as being more non-committal, or Pfuhl's Rhodian-Milesian as covering both possible places of origin and area of distribution. For the description of the technique, details of shape, decoration and distribution I refer to Kinch, Pfuhl and Prinz. So far as is possible in my discussion of the fragments from Naucratis of this ware, I shall follow Kinch's classification of style by certain characteristic features, though to follow it closely is very difficult owing to the fragmentary character of my material. There is also the complication that the characteristic features of one period may live on in a later phase, though perhaps the archaising is betrayed either by the introduction of some more modern motive or by the misunderstanding and mis-rendering of an earlier one. More especially is this

⁶¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁶² *Op. cit.* p. 27.

⁶³ *Op. cit.* p. 136.

the case where, as in this Rhodian fabric, it would seem to be almost certain that we are dealing not with one single manifestation but with many, though all may derive from one common prototype. The first style may have originated in one place or perhaps, though this is less probable, in several, and then have developed in these different places or in different workshops in the same place along different lines, but still always without losing the memory of the common origin. I believe it ought to be possible to bring together in groups in virtue of some common element of style—technique, shape or even some quite small detail of ornament—many of these different styles and even to track them down to some definite locality. This needs careful working out and I make only these suggestions.

The hatched triangle, which possibly in early Egyptian art was a landscape element,⁸⁰ in the northern area took the place of the roundel; this is found on the fragments found by Dr. Roehlan in Aedra⁸¹ and on a Greek pot of Rhodian style found at Sardis.

The absence of a slip, the two-sided decoration, the similar arrangement of triangles and rays beneath the frieze on the back side, the similarity in style and in filling ornaments and especially in the form of the roundel, point, I think, to a common place of origin for at least two Rhodian vases, the dish in the Villa Giulia⁸² and the fragment of a plate found at Ephesus, now in the British Museum.

The wonderfully delicate fine white slip fragments of Rhodian style found by Hogarth at Ephesus⁸³ must also be some local variety of which as yet no further examples have been found. The same unusual shade of red is found elsewhere, but not the delicacy of the technique or these patterns, which are the same as those on some of the jewellery and ivories found on the same site, or the quality of the slip, which is almost like an enamel set on the clay.

If we consider the probably early date of the Rhodian pottery—it may go back far into the seventh century, if it is true that some was found with the ivory figurines⁸⁴—it is not surprising that the greater number of the fragments from Naukratis belong to the later phases. The earlier with its different classes, in which there is no use of incision, may perhaps be dated from any time in the seventh down to the first quarter of the sixth century; the later, in which incision is used, must have gone on into the second quarter or even later, at any rate after the foundation of the Hellenion; the fact that no fragments of the earlier phases were found here shows that by this time the incised ware had become the fashion. There are, however, a few fragments which, though there is no roundel to help in the date, must belong to Kinch's earlier period (Fig. 19), perhaps to the same time as the krater which Polemarchos dedicated to Apollo.⁸⁵ They have the wild goat and the fallow deer, with the unspotted belly stripe and with the elongated body which in the earliest phase was so long that four of these goats and deer filled the lower frieze. Kinch places this krater between the first and second periods because of the edge of the roundel, which is half plain, half scalloped.

⁸⁰ Copart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 116.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.* p. 87.

⁸² *Mon. Ant.* civ. p. 289.

⁸³ *Op. cit.* p. 221.

⁸⁴ Poulson, *Der Orient u. f. g. Kunst*, p. 84.

⁸⁵ Kinch, *op. cit.* p. 211.

At first sight it would seem that the character of the roundel and perhaps the primitive drawing on one fragment would place in the earliest class the askos,²⁰ and the two fragments from Naucratis (Figs. 20, 21) and a *deinos* from



FIG. 19.



FIG. 20.



FIG. 21.

Camelios (Fig. 22), which are all in the British Museum. The askos has been called *Naucratis* and the fragment with the man and dog *Melian*.²¹ I think the absence of any typical *Melian* ornament is against it. I believe they are all Rhodian, and I have put them together because I believe they are all, if not the work of one hand, at least the output of one workshop. That they do not

²⁰ *Naucratis*, II, p. 40.

²¹ *Naucratis*, I, p. 54.

belong to the earliest period, but are examples of 'archaizing,' is shown by the introduction on the askos of a spiral ornament and on the others of the meander square: both of which Kinch⁷² thinks are characteristic of the later periods, as are also the use of white on the black line of the *deinos*, and the use of the whole human figure as distinct from that of the head alone.⁷³ Perhaps in this very primitive man, hardly removed if at all from a Geometric man, we may see a beginner's attempt at rendering the human figure.

In all alike the colour of the slip is the same, almost dead white, the dark paint is almost uniformly black, the field is packed in a quite unusual way with mainly linear ornaments, some of an unusual character, most of which repeat themselves on each of the five pieces and mainly in the same positions. The arcade pattern at the base of the *deinos* reurs again on the man and dog fragment, and this and the other fragment belong to just such a *deinos*. In the upper frieze of the first there is part of a wild goat; other points of similarity are the position and pale mauve colour of the patch on the back and neck of the animals; the spotted belly stripe, the marks on the faces of the goats, the spotted muzzle of the dogs, and lastly the square roundel, so rarely found elsewhere, which is on the top line of the *deinos* and in the field of Fig. 21.

In addition to these archaizing examples of the later phases there are some thirty fragments of oinochoai belonging to Kinch's late second or third style before incision comes in; of these I illustrate a few (Pl. VIII., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). One at least (No. 6) rivals in delicacy and technique the very best of the Rhodian oinochoai. That they must belong to one or other of the later phases is shown by the fine proportions of the animals, by the Sphinx (No. 9), who now walks⁷⁴ as on the Lévy oinochos in the Louvre,⁷⁵ by the developed roundel, by the strokes hanging from the top line or standing on the lower, by the spiral ornament and the meander square, by the polychrome hands, and by the lotus, which on some fragments has now its latest form, for the central petals float in mid air. It is just these pieces which are so important for the place of origin of the incised style in this fabric, because it is just these animals, the wild goats and the deer, in these attitudes, mostly feeding or running, with two legs, or rendered with head turned back, these filling ornaments, these polychrome hands, these strokes and these roundels, which will be found in the lower friezes beneath the shoulder frieze in the incised new style. Though Kinch has made no sharp distinction between the incised and non-incised phases in this fabric, and though his history of the style is drawn largely from the lower friezes, I believe that the style of the shoulder frieze in the last phase must be studied apart. The new Black-figure style coming from the west, from Sicily or from Corinth, brought with it a new technique and a new method of rendering the old 'new animals': the lion's mane and the folds on the bull's neck may still at times be shown by incised lines,⁷⁶ but as a rule the neck is merely coloured red, and a red patch with incised outline

⁷² *Op. cit.* p. 224.

⁷³ *Op. cit.* p. 225.

⁷⁴ *Familles de Franklin*, p. 224.

⁷⁵ *Louvre Cat. A 318.*

⁷⁶ *Mon. Anc. xiv. Pl. XII.*

takes the place of the spotted belly stripe. New filling ornaments, shapeless blobs, appear in the field. Still, the love for the old technique and the old animals was so strong that perhaps it was only in the very latest phase that all the elements were taken over. I believe there is not one single instance of a



FIG. 22

Rhodian vase for which incision alone is used, and very few too which do not keep the wild goat frieze; also only in rare exceptions do we find the new technique usurping more than the shoulder frieze. My material is so



FIG. 23



FIG. 24

fragmentary that I cannot say whether it is possible to trace a development in the animals of this shoulder frieze, but it is possible to do so in the character of the filling ornaments. At the beginning of the new technique these are in no way different from those of the lower friezes. All are of the late rosette style or meander squares or spiral ornament (Fig. 23). Then

came the shapeless blobs. It must have been the Corinthian influence which taught the Rhodian potter the ease with which a space may be filled by a shapeless blob (Fig. 24). But even so, when these had come in, the old painted rosette still lingers in the same field at times as the blob, or the rough blob may have a rosette carefully incised within it (Fig. 25).

It is interesting to see how all styles may be combined on one single vase. None shows this better than the *oinochoe* found at Syraense,⁷⁷ with its plastic lion on the rim, its geometric pattern on the neck, its two top friezes of incised animals with blob fillings, its frieze of incised animals with rosette fillings, its three friezes of wild goats in outline technique with strokes, rosettes and spiral ornaments, all divided by the polychrome bands.

I come now to a description of the fragments of the different shapes of Rhodian vases.

Dishes.—I am using this rather nondescript term in order to distinguish this shape quite clearly from the flat plates and the bowls. The plates and dishes are often treated together, but they ought to be kept apart, on the ground not only of a complete distinction in shape, but also in the scheme of decoration, although there are examples in both, though rare on one side, of borrowing. Poulsen⁷⁸ in his analysis of these schemes of decoration traces them back to different Phoenician prototypes and suggests a theory of priority for the decoration which belongs to the dish. There are numerous fragments of all the different shapes at Naukratis which are described by Kinch. The foot may be high or low; in some the bowl is deeply curved, in others it is shallow. Some are rimless, in others the rim is set flat or at different angles to the bowl. These rims are decorated (Pl. VII.) with every variety of Geometric floral pattern—maeander, rays, triangles, tongue pattern, crisscross, zigzag, fishbone, cable, dot and line, wavy line and strokes, more rarely with rosettes or a wreath of palmettes (Pl. VII. 7).

Sometimes the rim is ridged horizontally and on this rim are vertical strokes of colour.

The normal form of decoration for the dish is that which the plates borrowed—the frieze decoration round a central ornament. There are a few fragments of the early landscape dishes with heads of nymphs and ducks set between the papyrus clumps, and some of the same in the later archaizing style which has misunderstood the meaning of the papyrus, which now touches the top line.⁷⁹

For the rest the forms of decoration in the friezes are very varied—geometric, floral and animal. There are concentric circles with leaf or bud patterns (Pl. VII. 2) between them and running spirals, with these same bud patterns; there are stars and rosettes of all varieties set between clumps or rays. On one is a twining palmette wreath; on others, and this is the most common form, there are varieties of lotus wreaths, and lotus flowers and buds set often between the clumps. The lotus is generally of the later type, either

⁷⁷ *Mon. Ant.* xxv, Pl. XII.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 86.

⁷⁹ *Formes*, p. 255.

palmette filled or with floating central petals: in one the central petal has so far lost its floral character that it has become just a decorated rhomboid. The animal friezes are less common: there are a few fragments with a wild goat frieze with polychrome bands and strokes and rosette fillings, showing to which phase of the style the dish belongs. Another (Pl. VII. 9) has the



FIG. 25.



FIG. 26.

protome of a horse with elaborate bit and curious wrappings on the neck, a part of a goat and what might be part of a human head with *Krobylos*.

There are a few fragments of the later incised style with both kinds of filling ornaments; on one (Pl. VII. 14) there is a lotus wreath incised; on another (Fig. 26) there are two friezes with wild goats, here silhouetted and



FIG. 27.



FIG. 28.

incised with rosettes in the field. Lastly, there are many fragments belonging to a big dish which has now been made up, of which two have already been published.⁷⁸ It is especially interesting as being the only one in this phase of the Rhodian fabric that is decorated on both sides, recalling the dish of the earlier phase in the Villa Giulia.⁸⁰ There is also here a double technique

⁷⁸ *Naucratis*, n. 17, IX.

⁸⁰ *Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 280.

such as we shall find again on two kraters: the incised lotus wreath which forms the central ornament of the interior is set on a dark ground (Fig. 27), while on the corresponding place on the outside of the dish there is the same lotus wreath, but here it is painted on the white ground which covers the whole dish. It has a wonderfully gay appearance, the slip is very white, and as the result of the firing much of the colour is red; the spots on the panther are bright red, with incised outline and there is much colour on the other animals. In all the friezes only blob fillings are used, but they have as a rule a rosette incised within them.

Generally the central ornament is floral, either a rosette or a star or some form of palmette and lotus (Fig. 28), but in one dish there is a seated lion, just as in the early Landscape dish at Munich⁸¹ there is also an animal, a swimming duck.

I have found at Naucratis only one example of exergue decoration (Fig. 29). On a fragment which is part of a rimless dish there is a piece of geometric pattern forming the segment line and a floral design in the exergue.

In addition to these forms of decoration there are a few fragments of dishes which have only bands of black and red alternating with the white slip and some with dark bands on the white ground.

Pyxides.—Closely allied both in technique and decoration to the dishes are the pyxis lids (Pl. VIII. 1, 2, 3, 4), of which there are perhaps a dozen examples from Naucratis in the three Museums. One has a wild goat frieze, others are decorated with lotus wreaths, or with concentric circles, with leaf pattern, or rosettes between clumps; on others there are scale or checker patterns. One in the Fitzwilliam Museum (No. 1) has the late landscape decoration with heads of ducks set between rays. One other has a frieze of animals in the late incised style with blob filling. On it is a wild goat in a 'Rhodian' attitude, scratching its ear with its hind foot. With this last example it is possible now to show that each attitude of the wild goat in the lower friezes of the incised-shoulder style can be paralleled in pots in which there is no incision. In this attitude it is found on the top frieze of the *deinos* I have already shown.⁸² The wild goat running and looking back with only two legs shown is seen on the lower frieze of an *oinochoe* in Copenhagen⁸³ of the incised style, and on the shoulder of another of the latest phase before incision comes in.⁸⁴

Plates with a low straight or curving rim may be decorated in the following ways, the third being the borrowed one.

(a) *The Exergue Form*.—Though there are so many examples of this from other sites, there are only four examples from Naucratis in our English Museums. Of one only the exergue is left, on another is part of a sphinx with a line of spots following the line of the body, as in the plate in the Louvre.⁸⁵ On a third fragment there is part of a human foot on the segment-line. The fourth, and this I call Rhodian only tentatively, not Naucratic,

⁸¹ *Münch. Vasensammlung*, Pl. XVI. No. 102.

⁸² *Supra*, p. 196.

⁸³ *Frankl.*, p. 225.

⁸⁴ *Jahrb.*, 1883, p. 149.

⁸⁵ *Catalogue*, A 308.

is the great plate from Naucratis in the British Museum, of which Gardner has given a detailed description.²⁵ I see as yet no reason for separating it from the class of 'Rhodian style' which may represent different



FIG. 29.



FIG. 30.

local 'Schools,' to which belong such others as the great Ram plate in the British Museum.

(b) The picture occupies the whole field and the rim is its frame. Of this there is no example from Naucratis.



FIG. 31.

(c) *Frieze Decoration* like that of the dishes. Of this there are at least ten examples from Naucratis (Fig. 30). On all are animal friezes and all belong to the last phase, which I think proves the view held by Kinch,²⁶ that

²⁵ *Naucratis*, ii, p. 45.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 221.

this shape comes in only towards the end of the Rhodian fabric. The animals are all in B.F. style with blob filling, at times with a rosette roughly incised. The central ornament here too as a rule is floral, such as an elaborate lotus with palmette fillings and volutes arranged into a pattern.

But on three fragments there is a decoration (Fig. 31) which recalls the centre of the (probably Rhodian) Tyazkiewicz⁸⁷ plate with its griffin protomes set round the edge of the circle.

(d) There is one last possible form of decoration which is not found either at Vroulia or Naukratis. This is a combination of the exergue and the frieze decoration, borrowed perhaps directly from such a Phoenician plate as Poulsen illustrates,⁸⁸ which occurs on an early plate found at Bitalemi near Gela.⁸⁹

Deinoi, etc.—It is difficult here to tell whether the fragments with the goats and deer belong to the lower friezes of pots of the later incised style or to the last stage of the 'unincised style'; in no way are they different, for they both have just the characteristics which I have already described.

There are many fragments of shoulder friezes of the new style with the new animals, with all the forms of filling ornaments, belonging to *deinoi*, kraters, etc.

There are several rims, flat or sloping, decorated with meander patterns, which must belong to such a *deinos* as was found at Gela.⁹⁰ Most of them are in the new style with rosette or blob fillings.

Kraters.—To such a krater as the one in the Louvre⁹¹ must belong a great ring handle set in a dowel with the fragment of a dark neck. On one side is inset a white panel with a painted lotus wreath, on the other a similar panel with a swan incised with blob-filling ornaments. To another (Fig. 32) must belong the fragment of a polychrome incised lotus wreath exactly like the one which is set below the neck of a krater found at Vroulia.⁹² There is a fragment also of the flat top of the handle of a column krater decorated with concentric circles, set with leaves, like the pattern on a dish and on a pyxis.

There are fragments also of other vases (Pl. VIII. 16), amphorae and oinochoai belonging to this class. One (Fig. 33) has a wild goat, now incised and in silhouette, out of his right place in the lower frieze but keeping in his field the painted rosette and the strokes hanging from the top line.

Bowls.—I have left these to the last because I believe that it is in them that can be seen all the Rhodian elements which have been found either singly or together on the other pots. Both the shape and the simplest form of internal decoration may, as I have said, be a direct inheritance from the earlier Bird or Eye Bowls. The hanging lotus bud (Fig. 34) which is so often found beneath the handles of these bowls we have already seen in the Bird Bowls. Sometimes its place is taken by another motive. On one fragment there are two lions rampant.

The characteristic features of these bowls (Pl. VIII. 13, 14, 15) are too well known to need description and several from Naukratis have been

⁸⁷ *Prélim. Coll. Tyazkiewicz*, Pl. XV.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 25.

⁸⁹ *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 803.

⁹⁰ *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 250.

⁹¹ *Louvre Cat.* E. 659.

⁹² *Op. cit.* Pl. XV.

published,²² with their double technique and the lotus and palmette tied to the lower line in the upper frieze. But this double technique is not always found, for there are two fragments of such bowls from Naucratis (Pl. VIII, 11) on which the wild goat appears in outline technique by the side of the lotus and palmette. This pattern too is found on other shapes—on a fragment of an amphora (Pl. VIII, 12) and on a stamnos from Naucratis.²³ As a



FIG. 32.



FIG. 33.

rule, however, the decoration of the bowls is like that of the late *deinos* and *oinochoai* with the double technique, generally with one or many friezes of wild goats, or, if these are omitted, with a wreath of lotus and palmette.

While the decoration of the exterior is Rhodian in character, that of the interior can be used as an argument against giving these bowls to the



FIG. 34.

Naucratis fabric. This decoration varies from polychrome, painted or incised lines to elaborate schemes of ornament set in bands on the dark ground, for which both paint and incision are used, such as lotus wreaths with detached central petals or rosettes set between clumps. These are familiar, but where we find them is, not on the inside of the Naucratis chalices where incision is

²² *Naucratis*, n. Pl. VII, VIII, IX.

²³ *B.S.A.*, v, Pl. VII.

unknown, but on Rhodian plates and dishes. The enclosed palmette on one bowl and the lotus and palmette wreath with straying bud on another⁹⁴ carry us back through Rhodian pots to the decoration of some of the Vroulian cups. If the bowls are not Naucratic, then no more can the other pots of the incised phase belong to this fabric. Nowhere in the Naucratic fabric do we find the use of the polychrome bands for the external decoration of the vase, nor the developed roundel, nor the incised technique for the interior of the chalice and phiale, nor most of the patterns used for this. Only, I think, in two fragments do we find the late form of lotus with the floating petal, and I am not sure that one of these is Naucratic; the use of the strokes is very rare, the frieze of wild goats, and these nearly always in the feeding attitude, is found only in the earliest phases of the Naucratic style, while on the Rhodian pots it is hardly ever absent. Lastly, and this is important as a criterion for the Naucratic fabric, whereas in the chalice, or any other vase that demands internal decoration, the dark paint is always laid on a white slip, in the bowls, however white and good the slip may be, the dark paint is laid always on the clay—with a band reserved round the rim.

Aegina alone of all the Greek mainland cities took part in the settlement at Naucratis; although with Miletus and Samos she had no share in the Hellenion, but had her *τέμενος*⁹⁵ apart. That she had a strong Ionian connexion in the seventh and sixth century is shown by the fact that the Aeginetan coin standard was used by Chios⁹⁷ in the seventh century and by Cnidos⁹⁸ from 650-480, which would be due probably to her great commercial activities. She is called *χυσράπωλις*,⁹⁹ and at this time much of the carrying trade must have been in her hands, so that it is probable that it was her ships which brought the Proto-Attic, Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian pots to Naucratis. I say this last with all due deference to Johannsen,¹⁰⁰ who states that there is not one piece of Proto-Corinthian ware at Naucratis, but it is difficult to believe that some fragments at least do not belong to this fabric. But the definite evidence for her connexion with Naucratis at a date which may well be soon after the settlement under Amasis is shown by the rich find of Naucratic pottery on the site of the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina.¹⁰¹ This find differs from that of the fabric at Naucratis only in the fact that both here and at Chios¹⁰² were found mostly two forms of a two-handled cup which are rare, though not absent, at Naucratis. These two shapes are especially interesting because they appear on a fragment of a painted chalice found at Naucratis, possibly in a sacrificial scene.¹⁰³ All these fragments found at Aegina belong to the same period—as I have suggested, about the second quarter of the sixth century. Aeginetan merchants may have brought them back to dedicate to their own goddess, as they were dedicated to Aphrodite at Naucratis. Although on six fragments the name of the donor—Aristophanes—

⁹⁴ *Naucratis*, ii, Pl. VIII.

⁹⁵ *Herod.* ii. 178.

⁹⁶ *Head, Hist. Num.* p. 590.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 615.

⁹⁸ *Liddell and Scott*, s.v.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 184.

¹⁰⁰ *Aegina*, pp. 435-436.

¹⁰¹ *Delos*, ii. p. 198.

¹⁰² Pl. VI. 27.

appears, there is on none the name of the goddess. The scene on one of the cups we shall see repeated on a fragment from Naucratis; ¹⁰⁴ it is a procession of men or women wearing folded chitons and cloaks with an embroidered edge, and Ionian shoes turning up at the point and fastening down the front of the leg. There are certain technical points with which I shall better deal in the discussion of this same ware found at Naucratis.

Chios.—Chios, since Dr. Kuriniotis excavated the Temple of Apollo at Phana, plays a most important part in the history of Naucratic pottery. Here he found many, and some large, fragments of Naucratic pots. There was very little other ware; some fragments of late Rhodian plates and dishes, one piece of the Rhodian wild goat style,¹⁰⁵ and some Naucratic faience ¹⁰⁶ with some Corinthian ware.¹⁰⁷

As I have already said, the finds here and in Aegina in every point confirm the conclusions which I had already drawn from the study of the fragments from Naucratis in the Museum; the clay, the technique, the shapes, mainly cups and chalices, the schemes of decoration, the motives, the scenes too, to the smallest detail, are almost identical. But what is most important is that in Chios I found a corroboration for my classification of the Naucratic pottery. Those points I leave for discussion in my analysis of the Naucratic pots found at Naucratis. But there is one fragment of Geometric style found at Chios ¹⁰⁸ of which I have found no example at Naucratis. It has the true Naucratic characteristics—the white slip and the dark paint on the interior—laid here, too, on a white slip, and not directly on the clay. The scene represented recalls that on one of the plates ¹⁰⁹ from Datcha near Chios, in the British Museum: part of a warrior with a peltate shield stands on a curved prow of a ship, holding a spear. I refer to the article in *Δελτίον* ¹¹⁰ for the description of the curiously shaped and elaborately decorated vase found on the site. The plastic women's heads with the veil drawn over them and wearing necklaces, are in type and detail like those which decorate the Naucratic bowl in the British Museum, which are on a fragment from Boston and form the feet of some of the ring-vases. There are other points which show that this vase too is Naucratic, but of this I shall speak later.

Clazomenae gives evidence of the presence at Naucratis in the considerable number of fragments of the dark-faced ware which I am leaving for future study. But besides these there are some fragments of white and pale coloured slip ware, the best of which are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. To these I can make for the present three additions—two fragments of typical Clazomenian technique: on one is a Siren with incised details red and white for the tail and a line of white spots. There is also a fragment of a small bowl in the Fitzwilliam which I think must belong to this fabric (Fig. 35). It is in these perhaps that we get the link between the sarcophagi and the dark-faced ware. There are certain other pieces which I think if not actually

¹⁰⁴ *Aegina*, p. 456, Fig. 367.

¹⁰⁵ *Δελτίον*, ii. pp. 205, 206.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 207.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 206.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 200.

¹⁰⁹ *Rev. Arch.* 1894, p. 27.

¹¹⁰ *Δελτίον*, ii. p. 262.

Clazomenian bear a strong impress of Clazomenian influence. One is part of a bowl generally called Rhodian which has been published in colour.¹¹¹ The tied lotus and palmette is no proof that it is Rhodian, for this is found on the Clazomenian sarcophagi.¹¹² The features which I think are not Rhodian are first the use of white together with incision for the details, and then the character of the deer, which is squat and heavy and much more in type like the animals on the sarcophagi. There is also a flat plate from Naukratis, which has been already published.¹¹³ The fragments of a plate found on the Acropolis¹¹⁴ prove that this shape was known in the Clazomenian fabric. I do not say that this is Clazomenian—the lotus and palmette frieze,



FIG. 35

very much in character like that on a Rhodian bowl, may be against it,¹¹⁵ but there are features which belong to this fabric rather than to any other. On this plate there is a stately hand-in-hand dance of men with red hair and red beards, with red loin-cloth and much incision for detail. It is true that the men on Clazomenian vases as a rule are in lively motion, and such dances are rather kept for the women, but the parallel between the subject of this plate and that on the neck of a white slip krater from Naukratis¹¹⁶ is close. I think this krater also must belong to the same group: the white spotted dresses too and the rendering of the folds by incision are in favour of this attribution.

Before coming to the last and most important of all the fabrics from Naukratis, it would be well to take stock of the evidence which I have brought for the pottery belonging to the different Poleis which took part in the different settlements of Naukratis and for the date. I think that the Vroulia evidence for the earlier fabrics has been sufficient to establish a seventh-century date for the first foundation of Naukratis, and if the presence of Proto-Corinthian ware be conceded, then we get this as an additional proof. Though we do not know at what date commercial relations between Naukratis and mainland Greece began, the finds of Proto-Attic, Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pots show that this must have been at least before 600, possibly with Aegina as the 'carrier.'

To the early part of the sixth century would belong the earlier phases of the Rhodian white slip ware, of which none were found in the Hellenion.

Beyond this there is nothing which actually demands a date earlier than the reorganisation of Naukratis in 570. The fact that no Naukratite ware was found at Daphnæ would point to the conclusion that it was either not yet being made or not in sufficient quantity to be exported. None of the pieces found in Aegina and Chios and Vroulia belong to the earliest phases of this

¹¹¹ *J.H.S.*, c.10, Pl. LXXIX.

¹¹² *Ant. Denk.*, ii, Pl. XXV.

¹¹³ *Naukratis*, ii, Pl. XI.

¹¹⁴ *Græc. Acrop. Fasn.*, Pl. XXV.

¹¹⁵ *Prins. Aus Naukratis*, p. 49.

¹¹⁶ *Naukratis*, ii, Pl. XIII.

ware. Still, there is a double influence to be traced in the Naucratic fabric, first a Rhodian, then a Clazomenian, which would make it possible if necessary to put back the earlier phases of the fabric to still earlier years of the sixth century.

Naucratic Fabric.—Up to this point there has been some legitimate reason for connecting the different fabrics with one or another of the *Poleis* which took part in the settlement of Naucratis, but when we come to the fabric which is called 'the Naucratic Fabric,' the question of the maker is a baffling one. Perhaps, with Pfuhl, who calls Naucratis at this time 'a *Sammelbecken*' of Ionism, we can regard the fabric as Pan-Ionian in character and try to see how far it is possible in this Pan-Ionian character to track down any particular influences. But in calling it this the individuality and independence of the fabric must not be overlooked.

In the beginning, at any rate, it is Ionian, and only in the last stage is it possible to see a foreign, a Greek mainland, influence coming in. Till then, the two chief and perhaps the only directly traceable influences are clearly distinguishable in different phases of the fabric, in one a Rhodian, in the other a Clazomenian. We call the fabric Naucratic without any certainty that it was made there, though the probabilities of its being local are strong; mainly because the number of fragments of this fabric far outnumber all the rest; a large proportion of the different shapes are found here and here only; and lastly, so many of the dedications on the vases are painted before firing and some even are unfinished. In all this I am borne out by the words of Mlle Natalie Ziman,¹¹⁴ who in describing a Naucratic chalice found at Berezan by Dr. Škadoŭskis says: 'The very number of fragments found in the two excavations of Naucratis analogous in style and technique to our chalice points to Naucratis as the home of the ware. Also there is the important evidence of the inscription on the type of sacred ware to which most of the Naucratic fragments belong; the fact that the chalice was found so far from Naucratis we must ascribe to its transference thither in the current of Milesian trade.' Kurumiotis,¹¹⁵ on the other hand, though not refusing the possibility of Naucratis as a home, believes that the ware may have come from Chios itself, first because Chios, at the very time when the Naucratic ware was in its prime, was a centre of 'production and export' of pottery.

Further excavations may prove his point, but I believe, in view of the absolute similarity of technique and above all of subject that exists between the fragments found at Naucratis and those on these sites in Chios, that there can only be one place of origin, which may be Naucratis or Chios. If it was Naucratis, then Chiot merchants, like the Aeginetan, had these dedicated cups made to order, to take home to offer in their own temples.

The distribution of Naucratic ware is wide, and though in some places there are only isolated examples, in other places many have been found. In

¹¹⁴ *Bull. et Comm. Imp. Arch.* xl. p. 140 ff. ¹¹⁵ *Sevres*, ii. p. 206.

South Russia¹¹⁸ numerous fragments of both the older and the later period were found at Olbia, Kertsch and Berezan. Many examples come from Chios¹¹⁹ and some from Delos.¹²⁰ In Argina¹²¹ were found fragments of over twenty-four cups and chalices. There is one chalice from Rhitsana,¹²² one from Pitane,¹²³ two from Vulci,¹²⁴ two from Camiros,¹²⁵ one fragment from Ephesus,¹²⁶ and one from Gordion¹²⁷ (both uncertain).

From Greece come only the four fragments found on the Acropolis¹²⁸; from Corinth¹²⁹ one of the little female heads, part of a double herm such as was used for the rims of large vessels like the Naucratis bowl in the British Museum; this head is now at Heidelberg. The skill of the Naucratis potter was later proverbial¹³⁰; this is already shown in the technique of the sixth-century chalices, which for quality equal the very best Kamares wares. I take the chalice as the typical form for my description of the technique. The clay seems to vary in colour, due to the firing, from grey to grey-yellow, or grey red; the dark paint runs through all the shades from a red-black to a golden yellow, sometimes dull or sometimes brilliant; the red from a dark purple to carmine and vermilion; the shade of the white paint is much bluer than that of the slip, which is creamy white and as a rule rather friable. The paint must have had some carbon (or graphite?) in it, for where the slip has peeled there are dark blue patches left on the clay.¹³¹ Whether, if the fabric is local, the clay is also local, remains to be discovered. Mallet¹³² says: 'on trouve partout à l'entrée des vallées la terre propre à être employée par les potiers.' The fine china clay for the slip might have been brought, perhaps by Milesians from the Pontic regions, when the Pontic ports were opened up; 'for from Phanagoria to Naucratis along the track of Milesian enterprise there springs up a whole cycle of pot fabrics with a surface prepared for the painter by a thick white slip. This was made from the meerschaum, which apparently was a regular object of export from Cappadocia to the Hellenic wool staples, of which Miletus was among the chief.'¹³³

The firing must have been most carefully done, for the vases seem never to be misshapen and give out a clear, sharp ring.

The white slip covered the whole chalice both inside and out, and the dark paint was laid always on this white ground. So fine was the technique that often the white paint for decoration was laid not on this dark ground, but on still another ground of red paint, possibly for greater durability.

There are many examples of both shapes of the chalice. One has a bowl separating the cup part of the chalice from the foot, the other is almost

¹¹⁸ Munro, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 338; *Bull. d. Comm. Imp. Arch.* xl., article cited above.

¹¹⁹ *Δελφικόν*, i. p. 89; ii. pp. 192 ff.

¹²⁰ *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 48.

¹²¹ *Argina*, loc. cit.

¹²² *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 322.

¹²³ *Perrot and Chipiez*, ix. p. 400.

¹²⁴ *Urichs, Zwei Vasen 'Altögen Style'*.

¹²⁵ *Louvre Cat.* A 230 (1), (2).

¹²⁶ *Ephesus*, p. 228.

¹²⁷ *Jahrb. Ergänz. Heft*, v. 1890, p. 186.

¹²⁸ *Grœf*, Pl. XV. 450.

¹²⁹ *Ant. Naucratis*, p. 124.

¹³⁰ *Athen.* vi. 480 E.

¹³¹ *Fouilles de Vrotila*, p. 109.

¹³² *Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, p. 200, note 2.

¹³³ *Myres, J. of Anthr. Stud.* xxxiii. p. 307.

straight-sided with only a slight outward curve below the handle—'like an inverted bell on a conical foot.'¹²⁴ The walls may vary in thickness; in the big chalices they are over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, in the smallest the merest fraction of an inch. The height of the biggest in the British Museum is 10 inches from the handle-zone, and it is 14 inches in diameter at the widest point, while the miniature chalices are not more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height and broad in proportion. The fineness of the technique is shown by the fact that the chalice from Berezan, which 'is 12 centimetres in height and 12 in breadth, weighs only 118.38 grammes.' As I said, I have taken the chalice for a description of the technique, and indeed the whole fabric might well be called the 'Naucratic Chalice Fabric,' for it is this shape, apart from stylistic qualities, which at once distinguishes this from all other contemporary fabrics. It is nearest perhaps to the *lacaina*, but the *Lycaina* lacks the chief feature of the chalice—the conical foot which is found so frequently. There are other forms, but they are far less common, varying from a stemmed to an almost stemless spreading

foot. The home of the conical foot and perhaps other features must be sought for elsewhere, and perhaps, though it may be as a half-way house, in Lydia. By the kindness of Prof. Buckler I am allowed to show one set of pots from Sardis (Fig. 36); another which is not among these has a white slip—nearly all, even the *lecythi*, have this conical foot. Just such others were found in the Tomb of Alvattes.¹²⁵ I quote here Prof. Chace:¹²⁶ 'The favourite feature of Lydian pots is the conical foot; the method



FIG. 36.

of decoration most favoured by the Lydian potters is the use of the white slip. This use of the white slip combined with its excellence raises an interesting question as to the relation of the Sardis fabrics to the Ionian ware. May not the potters of the Greek coast have learnt a lesson from their Lydian contemporaries? But behind Lydia there is the Hinterland of Asia, and Lydia with the great trade route from the East coming down to Sardis must have been one of the chief intermediaries between the East and the West, so this white slip and this conical foot may have a long history behind them, and perhaps other elements also, 'for the characteristic motives of the Milesian (Rhodian) repertory are of themselves of Anatolian and presumably of Cappadocian origin.'¹²⁷

This foot is, as a rule, covered with dark paint, probably on technical grounds and for the convenience of the potter, like the foot of the white Attic *lecythi*; at times, however, it is decorated with bands of colour or white or with rays or rosettes or a fish-bone pattern (Fig. 37). It is here that often is found an incised or painted dedication, for naturally the potter would hesitate to put a dedication on the fine decorated chalice, though there are

¹²⁴ *J.H.S.*, xxix, p. 222.¹²⁵ Porrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.* p. 293.¹²⁶ *A.J.A.*, 1914, p. 434.¹²⁷ Myres, *J. Anthr. Stud.*, lxx, xii.

exceptions to this rule. As is usual with Ionian pots, inscriptions other than dedications are very rare. I know of only one in the Naucratis fabric, on a cup from Aegina,¹²⁸ *καλὴ εἰμί*.

The interior of the chalice is sometimes covered only with the dark paint, but more often it is decorated with a variety of patterns, floral or linear, which are always painted and never incised, on the dark ground: Johannsen¹²⁹ suggests that this light on dark decoration may be a direct inheritance from the Kamares technique, and so it may have come to Naucratis through the Proto-Corinthian fabric, or, as I have suggested, it may come still more directly from the dark interior with polychrome bands of the Bird Bowls, and the use of the flowers in the Eye Bowl. At times the decoration of the interior of the chalice consists only of narrow bands of white or red, or white and red, on the dark ground, with often a polychrome star or rosette or cross in the centre; others have wreaths of lotus flowers and buds, or these set apart with one or many central petals, but never here of the later Rhodian variety with the central petal floating in mid-air. The lotus also may alternate with a rosette, or be joined with a palmette and tendril into an elaborate pattern. There are pomegranates set in a chain or singly or stylised crowning the petals of a rosette. There are many linear patterns—rhomboids, trellis, fish-bone, cable, dot and line, and meander;—on one (Fig. 38) alone have I found the Clazomenian crescent pattern with the crescents alternately red and white. Besides this floral and linear decoration, there are a few instances—I can find only seven—where a human or animal figure is used, painted in white on the dark ground. There is a fragment of a cup found in Aegina; on the inside are the 'feet of a swimming nymph.' There are five pieces in the British Museum, and one in the Fitzwilliam, with a white lion's head, with a red tongue (Pl. IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The details are roughly rendered in yellow and bright red. This technique appears on the outside of a tiny fragment in the Ashmolean (Pl. IX, 6), and I think it may find a parallel on the chalice which Miss Lorimer¹³⁰ published, which is now also in the Ashmolean; on the dull black exterior of this chalice there are white riders on white horses, also with coarsely painted red and yellow details. I can find no other example of the red laid on the black with the decoration of white rosettes. It is possible that a fragment of a cup found in Chios¹³¹ may also belong to this class, which is covered on both sides with a dull black paint with a white line painted on the exterior. There is one point in which the technique of the Chios cup differs from that of the chalice; the white lines on the interior are not painted, but are in reserve on the dark ground, beneath which is the white slip.¹³²

There are fragments both at Chios,¹³³ and at Naucratis of a cup which is white on both sides.

At least one half of the fragments in the British Museum, and these are as a rule those which have incised or painted inscriptions on the cup of the chalice, depend for all their beauty on the excellence of the technique or the

¹²⁸ *Aegina*, p. 456.

¹²⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 76.

¹³⁰ *J.H.S.* xxv. Pl. V.

¹³¹ *Δελφικα*, ii. p. 200.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 196.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 199.

contrast of the dead white slip and the dark ground of the interior. They have no decoration on the outside except perhaps sometimes one single rosette, or a narrow band of pattern round the rim. But the patterned fragments are many, and from them the history of the style can be drawn. I am dividing the whole fabric into two main classes, A and B, the distinction being only the use or non-use of incision, though this is but a small part of the very real division, so real that it is difficult to bridge over the gap between the two classes.



FIG. 37.



FIG. 38.

In the first class (A) an earlier and a later phase may be distinguished, and between these, stages of development. But this development cannot be followed step by step or arranged chronologically, for, like the Clazomenian sarcophagi, these Naucratic vases are often a museum of techniques; the old style lingers on beside the new; outline, partial outline, and almost complete silhouette appear on vases belonging to the same phase, or even on the very same vase. It may well be too that it was the individual caprice or genius of one potter to fill his field with ornament, of another to leave it



FIG. 39.



FIG. 40.

empty; of one to use little or no colour for enhancement, of another to use so much that the vase must have presented an appearance no less gay than that of a Clazomenian pot. Before showing how the style developed, and under what possible influences, I will deal with the characteristic decoration of the exterior of the chalice, with the types of animals and human beings, with the dress of the women and the men, with the armour, and lastly with the various shapes of vases that I think can be identified among the fragments.

The patterns on the rims, with but slight variation in the arrangement of the patterns, and those in the field and the roundels (Pl. XII.) which I have illustrated, cover all the forms which I have found on fragments in all our

Museums. Of the field patterns the most common by far is the rosette, generally drawn with a double outline like that on a Mycenaean false-necked amphora.¹⁴⁴ The handle zone is decorated either with maeander or with a cable pattern in varieties or with spot rosettes set at intervals, and sometimes, though rarely, with rays. But the pattern which is most often found is a two-edged saw pattern, sometimes doubled (Fig. 39), set between vertical lines in the centre of the handle zone. Kuruniotis notes too its constant occurrence and calls it *rustiche*.¹⁴⁵ I believe that it may well be a special potter's or a factory mark of the Naucratis chalice.

Sometimes the cup of the chalice is divided vertically by lines of elaborate maeander or other patterns from the handle to the rim, and a scene is set in the panels or the field is undivided and the scene goes all round the vase, rarely if ever in the form of a double frieze, but usually in the procession scheme until we get to the stage where there are simple or complex scenes from human life rendered with great sense of composition, which occupy a part or more often the whole of the field. There may be nothing but a single animal, as on the Iacon chalice in the Louvre,¹⁴⁶ or a single figure, as on the chalice with the woman with the lotus flower and cicada in her hand found at Berezan,¹⁴⁷ or a single rosette, as on the chalice from Camirus in the Louvre.¹⁴⁸

Animals.—There are no animals which are not found in one or another of the different phases of the Rhodian fabric, and in type they do not differ much; but whereas in the Rhodian pots the wild goat remains an almost constant feature to the very end, on the Naucratis pots, except in what I believe to be the earliest phase when the Rhodian influence was strongest, the wild goat, the deer and the duck are far less common than the lion and the bull.

Wild Goat (Fig. 40).—It is now established¹⁴⁹ that the knobbed-horned goat is not the ibex, but the *Capra aegagrus*, with a wide distribution in Asia Minor, Crete, Rhodes. He is in no way different from the wild goat of the Rhodian type and his movements are the same, he walks or runs with head turned back or feeds, while the hornless kid may butt or rear against some pattern on the vase. But it is the goat of the later Rhodian phases with finely proportioned body; the head is always in outline, the belly stripe spotted. Sometimes red is used for the haunch and shoulder, but often there is no colour.

Deer.—On the Rhodian oinochoe in the Louvre¹⁵⁰ there is a lower frieze in which the deer have alternately a plain and a spotted coat. The carefully palmated horn shows that both must be the fallow deer—only the artist, noting the difference in the seasons, shows one in his summer, the other in his winter coat. We find the same on Naucratis vases—there is a deer with a plain coat, with palmated horn, and the deer with the spotted coat (Fig. 41), but, unlike the Rhodian type, the spots are not reserved or painted on the dark ground, but the whole deer is in outline technique as on a Chiosianian sarcophagus.¹⁵¹

Bull.—The bull has sometimes the plain coat either with or without red for details (Fig. 42), or often large spiral markings are left in reserve on the dark coat just as on the bull of the Chiosianian sarcophagi,¹⁵² or on a Rhodian plate in the British Museum.

¹⁴⁴ Tauxemil-Munatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 245.

¹⁴⁵ *Δελτία*, ii, p. 104.

¹⁴⁶ Louvre Cat. A 330 (1); Salzmänn, *Nécropole de Camirus*, Pl. XXXVIII.

¹⁴⁷ *Bull. Arch. Comm. Imp.*, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁸ Louvre Cat. A 330 (2).

¹⁴⁹ *Fouilles de Vroulia*, p. 260.

¹⁵⁰ A 311.

¹⁵¹ *Ant. Denkm.* ii, Pl. XXVII.

¹⁵² *Ant. Denkm.* i, Pl. XLIV.

The head is always in outline with strong markings for the eye and muzzle. The folds of the neck are shown, even as on early Hittite seals,¹³² by strongly marked lines which rarely, as on the chalice from Delos (Pl. IX. 11), are carried down the chest. One horn alone is shown, the tail is tasselled or plaited, and the hoof is often carefully rendered.



FIG. 41.



FIG. 42.



FIG. 43.



FIG. 44.

As a rule he is only anthing, but on one fragment (Fig. 43) he is tossing a dog, and on another he is on the ground, attacked by two lions. In this scene, and here alone, the neck is not striped, but has a network pattern like the lion's mane (Pl. X. 7).



FIG. 45.



FIG. 46.

The Lion.—Is always of the typical Assyrian type with wide-open mouth and carefully rendered teeth and curling tongue, sometimes painted red. The head as a rule is in outline, but there are two fragments, one in the British Museum, one in Boston, which are in complete silhouette except for details (Fig. 44). The stylized network mane, which never goes beyond the neck, rendered in darker and lighter paint at times with the utmost care, is like that of the Rhodian lion and its prototype. Only once have I found a variant

¹³² Hays Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 67, Fig. 159.

on a fragment of a *deinos*: here, instead of the reticulation, the mane is rendered by wavy parallel lines. The legs and paws are either in partial outline or complete silhouette and sometimes the claws are shown.

Only in the scene with the bull does he ever seem to be in violent action, except that on the chalice in the Louvre he seems to be perhaps about to spring.

The Boar.—The outline technique is rarely used for the boar except for details. The head is nearly always in silhouette (Fig. 43), with only a reserve patch for the eye, which is strongly marked by bordering lines; the single tusk is either in reserve or is in white paint; the coat is either plain with red patches on the haunch and shoulder or with spiral markings like that of the bull, or it is covered with bright red spots, sometimes with a yellow outline; the mane is shown all down the back, the tail is twisted into knots. Once the cloven foot is clearly shown.

The Dog (Fig. 46).—Fig. 46 is the ordinary Ionian hunting dog, with, as a rule, only two legs shown to denote that he is running—with a bushy tail; generally the head is rendered in outline, but sometimes in silhouette—with reserved details, and sometimes he wears a spotted collar as in the scene with the wild boar (Pl. X. 8). This may be a real hunting scene.

The Panther is found on two fragments of chalices in the British Museum (Fig. 47), and on one in the Museum at Cairo.¹⁴⁴ He is on all alike entirely in outline, with outline spots. On the shoulder frieze of a Naukratite *deinos* in the British Museum he has a stylised frontal head.

The Hare.—Like the panther and the fallow deer, is in outline technique with dark spots. On one fragment two ears are shown, on another only one.

Ram.—This ram (Fig. 48) comes from the second frieze of a *deinos*. The fragment shows how excellent the animal style can be. The ram comes in only in the late phase of Rhodian art, on the shoulder of the amphora from Sakkara,¹⁴⁵ now in Cairo.

The Horse is rarely found on the Naukratite pots. I know of only four examples; the fragment with the ruler is in the British Museum (Fig. 49). In form he is more like the Proto-Corinthian or the Prinia horse, with his long legs and slender build, than the horses on the Clazomenian sarcophagi, which are more squat and heavy. The Naukratite horse too has no pechel or saddle-cloth, and the mane is simply rendered in dark paint. Like the ram, the horse comes into the Rhodian repertory only late.¹⁴⁶

Among the birds I think there is no swallow as on the Rhodian vases.

The Duck is in no way different from the Rhodian type.

The Owl with two feathered ears (Fig. 50) must be the Scops Owl, which may be resident in certain parts of North Africa, and anyhow spends the winter there. It is this same owl which comes on the frieze of a late Rhodian *deinos* found at Vroulia.¹⁴⁷ I think this type is not found on the Greek mainland pots: the owl on the shield of the warrior of the Macmillan Leeythos is like the Attic owl—the Glaux or the Athens Noctua, with very round head and without ears.

The Cock is not found at all in the earlier class of Naukratite ware, but comes in only in the later incised phase. He is best seen on the chalice from Rhitona,¹⁴⁸ and may, I think, be well compared with the cock of the Clazomenian vases,¹⁴⁹ with his heavy wattles and purple comb finished with the serrated edge and his long tail feathers.

The little bird on this fragment (Fig. 51) from the Fitzwilliam, walking up the steps perhaps of an altar, is, like his counterpart on the Fikellura vases,¹⁵⁰ possibly a red-legged partridge.

The bird on the Würzburg chalice can only be defined as one of the indeterminate species of long-legged water-birds (Pl. IX. 12).

The fish (Fig. 52) comes in only too in the latest incised phase—on this fragment in the Ashmolean is possibly part of a dolphin.

¹⁴⁴ *Cairo Museum Vases*, 26, 158.

¹⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*; *Cairo Museum Vases*, 26, 135.

¹⁴⁶ *Fouilles de Vroulia*, p. 223.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, Pl. XV.

¹⁴⁸ *J.D.S.* cxix, p. 222.

¹⁴⁹ *Ant. Doulos* II, Pl. LIV.

¹⁵⁰ *Boschian, Notrop.* p. 55.

Of the mythical animals we get only the Sphinx, and very rarely, except in the last class, the Siren; there is no Griffin and no Chimæra.

The Sphinx appears in all the usual attitudes. She crouches ready to spring, she



FIG. 47.



FIG. 48.



FIG. 49.



FIG. 50.



FIG. 51.



FIG. 52.

sits and walks. The face, like that of the woman, is sometimes rendered in white paint, the hair is either in a solid mass, or in single strands, bound generally with a fillet, and the spiral curl springing from the back of the head is never omitted, as it so often is on Rhodian pots. The wings are rendered in various ways. At times they are almost straight, at times strongly recurved with deeply indented edges, but this early and late

rendering can have no chronological significance. The wing covers are either dark with coloured patches or they may be patterned with stripes and spots.

The *Seren* (Fig. 53) is almost as rare in the first class of Naucratis pots as it is in the Rhodian fabric. I have found only on four fragments of chalices parts of the back and tail, three with spots on the white ground and one with scales. That it is so common in the last class may be due to Clazomenian influence.

Women.—The flesh is sometimes painted white (Fig. 54) or else the whole figure is in outline; the hair, like that of the *Sphinx*, is rendered either in separate strands or a close mass and bound with a fillet with floating ends; circular earrings are often worn and sometimes a necklace and bracelet.

The dress may consist either of cloak and chiton or chiton alone, which may be white or of dark material with elbow sleeves (Fig. 55). Sometimes the kolpos and a belt are shown, and sometimes there is a broad band of pattern down the side and round the bottom, and the cloak may be decorated with red and white spots and crosses and a spotted border. The drawing often makes it difficult to disentangle and understand the method in which both garments are worn, but often folds are shown in the chiton and the material of the cloak and chiton are clearly differentiated.

Men in the first class have usually a small pointed beard covering only the chin (Fig. 56), leaving both lips exposed. The hair may be either short or long, when it is bound with a fillet, or it may be worn in a *Krobylos*. In the last and most developed phase of Class I. (Pl. VI. 21, 27) the flesh is painted red with darker anatomical details and sometimes with a darker contour line. In Class B (Pl. XI.) the whole figure is in dark silhouette; the men are beardless.

The usual dress of the men is like that of the women, a long chiton with which a cloak may be worn with an embroidered edge. The *Heracles* on the Acropolis fragment wears only an embroidered loin-cloth. This loin-cloth is the only dress of the men in Class B. A man on another fragment (Pl. X. 4) in the British Museum wears a short belted chiton.

Sometimes a high pointed cap is worn or one which is more like a *Pemona* cap seemingly feathered (Plate VI. 12); while an archer wears one with a long protruding point (Fig. 57), perhaps like the cap which is worn by one of the men on one of the Etruscan tomb panels in the British Museum.¹⁴⁶ Both men and women wear shoes (Pl. VI. 28) fastening down the front as on the bronze relief from Perugia.¹⁴⁷

The type of the face is shown in the fragments which I have illustrated and can be compared with that on the fragments from Clazomenae.¹⁴⁸ As a rule the line from the forehead to the nose is unbroken, the nose is large and sharp, the upper lip very prominent; the eye is set high up, oblong in shape and with long corners; the chin is sharp and the neck is rather long and slender.

In a few fragments (Pl. VI. 11, 12, 13) there is a technique which recalls that of the Rhodian terra-cotta heads; the pupil of the eye is painted black, on a white eyeball, or has a white circle drawn round it. This eye appears as a device on a shield, and here the eyeballs are drawn with great care (Pl. VI. 10).

Armour.—The shields are round often like this last, with devices painted on them; on one is a protome of a bull, on another crescent patterns, on another an ornate star. On one fragment the warrior wears greaves (Pl. VI. 14); they fight with short swords or spears and bows.

The helmets are of the two types (Fig. 58), as on the fragment of a Clazomenian sarcophagus in the British Museum; ¹⁴⁹ one with the crest on a stem with the phalos, the other with the crest attached to the helmet.

Shapes:

i. Chalice.

ii. Kylix, with offset rim like Ionian kylix (Fig. 59).

iii. Kylix, doubled Eye Bowl type, with ray (Fig. 60).

¹⁴⁶ *J.H.S.* x, Pl. VII.

¹⁴⁷ *Ant. Denk.* ii, Pl. XIV.

¹⁴⁸ *Att. Mus.* xxiii, p. 38.

¹⁴⁹ *J.H.S.* iv, Pl. XXXI.



FIG. 53.



FIG. 54.



FIG. 55.



FIG. 56.



FIG. 57.



FIG. 58.



FIG. 59.



FIG. 60.

- iv. Two-handled cup.¹⁴⁴
- v. " " "
- vi. Deinos with triple handles.
- vii. Low-necked Krater, with horizontal strap handles.
- viii. Bowl with heads.
- ix. Cup with flat bottom, handles low down (Fig. 61).
- x. Plate.
- xi. Dish like Rhodian.
- xii. Phiale.
- xiii. Phiale Mesomphalos.
- xiv. Parts of vases, which must I think belong to the same shape as the two from Chios.¹⁴⁵
- xv. Pyxis.
- xvi. Ring Vase. The ring is set horizontally, supported on four feet, which may be in the form of a woman's head. On the top of the ring are set spouts alternating with rings or cones, or possibly one of the woman's heads may belong here. (Fig. 62).

* I have said that in the earliest phase it is possible to trace a Rhodian influence; of this the best examples are these that I have selected. There are fragments of two or three big flat-rimmed deinoi (Pl. X. 1, 2, 3) with triple or quadruple handles like the Rhodian deinos from Gela: one has friezes of goats and deer in their plain coats with simple linear filling ornaments; these friezes are hardly more than one inch in width and are separated by wide bands of dark paint. In another the Naucratic potter has not kept to the Rhodian fashion of putting the new animals in the shoulder frieze; his wild goats are there, but the bull and the ram and the wild bear are in the lower frieze. Besides these big deinoi, there are three vases all almost in perfect preservation which show most strikingly the Rhodian influence. These are the two chalices from Vulci now in Wurzburg (Pl. IX. 12, 13), which by the kindness of Dr. Bulle I am allowed to reproduce, and the great bowl with plastic women's heads in the British Museum,¹⁴⁶ which has a fragment of one other similar bowl. So strong here is the Rhodian influence that Prinz¹⁴⁶ and Pfuhl¹⁴⁷ both call it Milesian. But I believe it is Naucratic; when the Naucratic potter borrowed the Rhodian style, he must have known all the phases so well that he selected his material from all the different periods; he takes the animals from the later period, he lays his white on the dark ground, he copies the later wild goat with its spotted belly stripe, and many of the filling patterns of the later style like the meander square. But one motive he never adopts, the developed roundel. He takes the straight-edged early roundel and makes it his own by giving it almost invariably a horse-shoe shape, which rarely if ever is found in the Rhodian style. This horseshoe roundel, the whiteness of the slip and the fineness of the technique and the style of the animals, all make me think that it must be Naucratic. Above all, I believe that this bowl, if not by the same hand, is from the same workshop as the two Wurzburg chalices. No other lion on any other fragment of Naucratic

¹⁴⁴ *Agina*, Pl. CXXVII. 21, 22.

¹⁴⁵ *Δελφικα*, I. p. 89; II. p. 200.

¹⁴⁶ *Naucratic*, II. Pl. VI.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 141.

ware has what the lions on one of the chalices and on the bowl have, the two strokes above the eye, which must be the eyebrow. I have found this once on a Rhodian pot, on the oinochoe in the British Museum.¹⁶⁸ In both the knee-joint is rendered in exactly the same way by a tiny circle, and the leg by the same proportion of outline and silhouette. The band of strokes round the face of the bull on the chalice are paralleled by the same on the face of the dog and the wild boar on the bowl. In both too there is the rosette used only once with alternate dark and light petals. These points of resemblance may in themselves be small, but it is just in these details that the individual hand must be looked for. If this similarity be conceded, then the Naucratic authorship of the bowl is certain. In the large fragments of the five big chalices in the British Museum, the Rhodian influence is less pronounced; there are no more goat scenes and no friezes, and in one too there is a figure of a woman grouped with two sphinxes; the field is still full



FIG. 61.



FIG. 62.

of ornament, mainly doubly outlined rosettes, which are most typically Naucratic. One of these fragments has been already published,¹⁶⁹ and I show three others (Pl. X. 6; 7, 8). On one is the scene with the lions tearing down the bull, in another there is no field ornament and the dog and wild boar are in almost complete silhouette. Kinch¹⁷⁰ gives an example of another fragment of a big chalice with a band of lions, which must belong to this time.

Now, leaving this phase, where the Rhodian influence still can be seen though less pronounced, I come to the last stage of Class A, where it has completely disappeared. It is true that the Naucratic potter had early gone his own way in his choice of the motives and in his love of the human figure, but the animal scene was still the main interest. Now in the next phase the animals hardly play a part at all, the interest has become purely human; we find a gradual and eventually complete disappearance of the filling ornament; the whole interest now is concentrated on the scene and the field belongs to it alone. Scenes become more and more common. Human beings tell their stories; their dresses are decorated with gaily coloured spots and crosses;

¹⁶⁸ *Pouilles de Fouilles*, p. 207, Fig. 91.

¹⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 229.

¹⁷⁰ *J.H.S.* viii. p. 59.

difference of material and differentiation of garments are shown—the folds of the chiton are rendered by fine lines; the type of face becomes more individual and there is even attempt at expression, and scenes from mythology are introduced. This change of style may be the inspiration of the Naucratic potter; but I believe that it is possible to put this style just about the date when a Clazomenian influence could be accounted for by the reorganisation of Naucratis about 570. I briefly sum up the main features in which the Naucratic potter is influenced by Clazomenae, or, if this be not conceded, the features which are similar in both:—the general use of the human figure with incision for details, the character of the scenes which are represented, the use of white paint for the flesh and the white riders, the love of polychromy, the dresses of the men and women with the coloured spots and crosses, the folds of the chiton rendered by fine lines,¹⁷¹ the two types of helmet, the devices on the shields, the frequent appearance of the Siren in the later phases of the Naucratic fabric, the disappearance of all filling ornaments, the use of plastic heads for handles and for decoration,¹⁷² and the polychrome crescent for the decoration of the interior of the chalice.

The fragments of this last phase are not very numerous, and I have shown most of them on the coloured plates. To these must be added the fragments from Aegina with the procession scene—the chalice from Berezan and two of the fragments from the Acropolis—the one with Heracles, the other with a fragmentary panther. The scenes drawn from human life are not very varied. They are mostly either battle scenes or scenes of single combat, or, as is most appropriate, religious scenes (Fig. 63): women and men bring offerings, generally a lotus flower or pomegranate, or wreaths of laurel or myrtle, possibly the Naucratic wreaths of the Polycharnos story: the woman on the Berezan chalice seems to hold in one hand a cicala or a butterfly, in the other a lotus. Or they may approach with hand lifted up in prayer (Fig. 56). On two fragments there are parts of what I think must be the throne on which perhaps sits the Goddess to whom these offerings are being brought. The cups on the ground in another fragment (Pl. VI. 27) may suggest either a scene of sacrifice or revelry. Besides these scenes there is a man driving a chariot, and there are white riders on white or black horses. Some of the mythological scenes are hard to understand, but I suggest the following interpretations:—

1. The man with the lion skin on three fragments must be Heracles (Pl. VI. 19).
2. The woman with the shield (Pl. VI. 7) can hardly be other than Athena, and perhaps the lady with her cloak (Pl. VI. 2) held out before her may be Hera, and the two may belong to a Judgment of Paris scene.
3. The man in a short chiton (Pl. X. 4) with wide-stretched legs might be Peleus; the tail and the paw of the Lynx seem to belong to a living animal, so perhaps this is Thetis.
4. The scene of a monster (Pl. VI. 17) lying on the ground with a man bestriding him would seem to be some revel with Silena.
5. That this is a battle scene (Pl. VI. 6) is shown by the shield, which I

¹⁷¹ *Paros*, H. Pl. XXX. 1.

¹⁷² *Munch. Vasensammlung*, Pl. XX.

think certainly belongs to the same chalice, on a fragment of which is seen a man sheltering beneath a woman's cloak. I can only think that it is Aphrodite protecting Aeneas in the battle. If so, this is another example of a rare scene.

6. The most elaborate in execution and the most advanced in style of all the Naucratic fragments (Pl. VI. 21, 22, 23) are three which I think must belong to the same chalice. They are all in the British Museum. The scene represented must be one which would be familiar in Egypt; the woman is one of the daughters of Danaus carrying the head of the husband, son of Aegyptus, whom she had murdered. According to the Argive version the daughters after the murder cut off the heads of their husbands and threw them into the Pool of Lerna.¹⁷² The position of the pupil in the eye must be meant to show death. Perhaps the head with the living eye is that of Lynceus.

7. The two last belong to the next class, B; but I put them here: on one fragment (Pl. IX. 10) in the Fitzwilliam is a winged foot, and beneath something which might represent the monster with which Perseus fought.

8. On a ring vase (Pl. VI. 20) is part of a battle of Centaurs fighting with trees, like the Centaurs on a Clazomenian vase.¹⁷³

After reaching this high-water mark of technical skill and artistic excellence the Naucratic fabric seems to lose, if not its technique, at least all its other qualities—its imagination, its delicacy of drawing, its love for colour and for the 'unfilled field' and for the varied scenes of human life. The reason may well be the influence of the Corinthian pottery, of which so much was imported into Naucratis.

Were it not that the shape of the chalice with its interior decoration, and often with the same 'saw' mark set between the handles, survives in both of the two divisions of Class B, it would be difficult to find at once a connexion between the earlier and the later class. But the connexion does exist and on either side. In the earlier class, A, there are a few fragments which show in a certain carelessness of drawing, and in the treatment especially of the head and face and in the actual scenes, a forecast of the decadence and style and of the character of the next class. On the other side there is in the second class one piece at least which combines the later technique of silhouette with incision and blob-filling ornament with the polychromy, the imaginativeness and the artistic skill of the first class. This is the large fragment of a chalice found by Professor Ure at Rhitsoun.

This B class I am subdividing: one I call the Naucratic Chalice Komos Style, the other the Naucratic Pyxis Animal Style. In the first division the chalice is still the favourite and perhaps the only shape with the same decoration of the interior—the same patterns on the rim and on the handle zone. The scenes are of an almost unvarying monotony of subject, executed in coarsely



FIG. 63.

¹⁷² Pausanias, ii. 20.8.

¹⁷³ *Arch. Deutsches*, ii. Pl. I.VI.

painted silhouette with careless incision for detail, but never for outline, with rough blob filling ornaments, with just a few circles roughly incised to show they were once rosettes. These scenes are almost all Komos scenes, lively enough but wearisome in their repetition: one figure differs from another only in trifling details, in the difference of pose or gesture, in more or less rough drawing of the features, and the rendering of the hands and feet or in the treatment of the hair, which sometimes flies quite loosely, or is tied in a Krobylos, or is often hidden beneath either a pointed cap or a sort of feathered cap, like those worn by the men on chalices of Class A. These revellers wear a loin-cloth, always rendered in the same manner by two incised semicircles and two lines; on some of which are traces of colour. Some wear round the neck or across the chest a band which I think must be an amulet, such as is worn by the little bronze figures, used for mirror handles, in the Hof Museum of Vienna,¹⁷³ and by the man on a fragment of a chalice in Class A.¹⁷⁴ Sometimes one of the revellers holds a ball, but otherwise there are no stage properties, such as cups or vases, as often in the Fikellura and the late Clazomenian pots, to show what scenes are represented. There are dozens of such fragments in the British Museum, and many others in the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam, in Boston, Heidelberg and the collection of Naucratic fragments in the British School at Athens. Dr. Kuruniotis found others in Chios¹⁷⁵ in no way differing. Several are reproduced in his account of the excavations, and one fragment I show by the side of others from our Museums (Plate XI). I think there are only three exceptions to the subjects on these chalices. On one fragment is a fish, on another heads of two ducks, on another a head of a cock. But the chalice shape and the similarity of the form of the blob filling ornament must place them in this division.

That the next subdivision, which I have called Naucratic Pyxis Animal Style, is Naucratic is proved by the fact that there is one chalice and one phiale mesomphalos, with the characteristic decoration of the interior which belong to it, and these must be Naucratic.

It is Pyxis style because the fragments of Pyxides in this subdivision far outnumber fragments of all other shapes.

It is Animal Style because in this last phase, perhaps side by side with the human scenes on the Komos chalices, there came in a purely animal and very individual style.

Just as monotonous in subject as the Komos scenes on the chalices are the forms of animals, set round the different pots with rays or strokes round the rim, and generally a pattern of dots or squares dividing the friezes. There are lions and bulls; Sirens and Sphinxes, which for the most part follow one another with but little variation of pose (Pl. XII). Not only do the scenes repeat themselves, but the details of the several animals hardly vary from one example to another; on all these is the same red patch, along the body and on the haunch, exactly the same incised lines for details, the same treatment of the wings. In nearly all, the lion is shown with only two legs, as he is on

¹⁷³ *Jahreshefte*, xc. p. 222.

¹⁷⁴ Pl. VI. 13.

¹⁷⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 192, 196.

the chalice in the Louvre.¹⁷⁷ But there is one other feature so marked in almost every fragment, and these fragments are even more numerous than those of the Komos style, that I think it would be permissible to christen the whole class after it. This is the saw-edged mane of the lion; it cannot be a necklace, as Dr. Weicker suggests.¹⁷⁸ This lion with his 'frill mane' is missing in hardly any fragment of this animal class, and he appears in two fragments which otherwise I should not have known where to place. He is in front of a figure seated on a throne. (To such figures belong, I think, the two heads which I reproduce.) He lies on the top of the curious vase found in Chios¹⁷⁹ with moulded women's heads, like those on the Naucratis bowl, and comes with the other same animals in the friezes of the foot. He is on this other piece again with a moulded woman's head, in Boston (Pl. XII. 15). He is on a plate in the British Museum, on a phiale mesomphalos with its polychrome interior, on many fragments of vases, the shape of which it is difficult to determine. Lastly he lies on the top of a ring vase on which is the scene of the battle of Centaurs, which I have already described (Pl. VI. 29). The best fragment for study of the whole series is the lid of the pyxis in the British Museum,¹⁸⁰ of which I show part (Pl. XII. 5). The blob ornament in this division differs from that of the Komos style, though on both sides we find instances of borrowing which would be one link between the two subdivisions. But there is another link, and not only between these two but between them and Class A. The type of the Sphinxes' and Sirans' and Centaurs' face is that of the men both of the Komos style and of some in Class A. The 'saw' motive also may be another link. We find it on the cock's comb of the Rhitsona chalice and of a fragment in the Ashmolean, in the hair of the Sphinx and Siren, the lion's mane, and in some of the amulets which the revellers wear. It may be a pure coincidence, but it is a 'double saw' pattern that is perhaps the factory mark of the Naucratis chalice. It is possible that these very numerous fragments are, if not the work of one single hand, whom I would call the Lion Master, at least the output of one workshop. Perhaps the fragment of a vase with decoration on both sides which Dr. Kurumiotis found in Chios¹⁸¹ may be the first or the last work of this master. He calls it Corinthian, but it is only another example of this very same animal style. On the one side the lion has his frill, on the other he has lost it. Either the style has lost its master, or the master has changed his style. I do not think that beyond this point there is any evidence for the manufacture of Naucratis ware; perhaps the Attic ware by now was conquering the markets.

I have left out only two pieces of importance for this discussion. One is the chalice from Camiros in the British Museum (Pl. IX. 14), for I believe it is not true Naucratis fabric; the technique is so bad, the vase is so roughly made and misshapen, the slip is coarse—hardly as though made from the fine china clay. The drawing is rough, and I have nowhere found these floral ornaments, which are much more Corinthian in character, on the other

¹⁷⁷ A. 330.

¹⁷⁸ *Der Siedentopf*, p. 112, note 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 200.

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¹⁸⁰ *Naucratis*, ii. Pl. VII. 2.

¹⁸¹ *Δελφικ.* i. p. 89.

Naucratite chalices. The other is the 'nigger' fragment with incision.¹²² This cannot be placed in Class A because of the technique, though the treatment of the eye is paralleled by that on several fragments which I have illustrated. On the other hand, it is too good for the Komos style in execution and there are no blob ornaments in the field. The colour of the slip, the character of the fabric and the treatment of inner details make me doubt whether it is Naucratite at all.

As a final point, I would like to suggest that the name chalice, with its modern significance, is especially fitting for the most typical shape in the Naucratite ware. It might have been made by Ionian Greeks at Naucratis in a special factory for votive offerings and for vases for the service of the temples. Many of the other shapes which are found here also bear out this suggestion; the *phiale mesomphalos* was a ritual vessel in Mycenaean times, the *pyxis* is carried by the lady in the *Tiryns fresco*, and the *Ring-vase* has perhaps a still earlier ritual history. The saw pattern on the chalice may be the mark of this temple factory.

I take this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks for the many privileges afforded to me of study and for much help to the Keepers and Staff of the British Museum, the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam; also to M. Pottier, Dr. Caskey, M. Mayence, Dr. Schweizer, Dr. Winter, Dr. Sieveking, Dr. Bulle, the Director of the Museum at Karlsruhe, and the Directors of the British and French Schools at Athens.

Pending the completion of the British Museum Catalogue, I have been obliged to omit all numbers; but a hand-list for identification purposes will be available for those who wish to consult it in the Library of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

E. R. PRICE.

¹²² Pfuhl, *op. cit.* iii. p. 27, No. 124.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLASSICAL TYPE IN GREEK ART¹

I. INTRODUCTION

It is hardly necessary to attempt a definition of what is meant by 'the classical type' in the body or in the face. Ordinary people know what they mean when they speak of a 'classical face,' 'regular features,' or 'a perfectly made man or woman' as regards the nude figure. Even though such people may have but a slight familiarity with Greek or Graeco-Roman statues and busts, or have never even actually perceived, themselves, the distinctive characteristics of the classical type, they have had it conveyed to them indirectly through the work of modern artists and illustrators of books or advertisements, or even in the attenuated and vulgarised renderings on chocolate boxes. No doubt we are now living in revolt and reaction against this type of beauty and normality, as in the past there have been periodic reactions against the dominance of the classic types, whether in 'realistic' or 'romantic' movements, throughout the historical development of art since the classical age. The fact, however, remains, that the standards of proportion and inter-relation between the parts of the body and between the features of the human head, as embodied in the classic type, still determine the taste of, at least, the Western world.

The reasons for this survival and persistence of Hellenic influence in art throughout all the varied changes in life and civilisation are essentially similar to those which have made the fundamental principles in science and philosophy,

¹ The present paper deals, in a compressed form, with chapters of a book on 'Alcmanes and the Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art' on which I have been engaged for many years, the publication having been delayed owing to several causes. Some of the main arguments were in part brought forward as early as the publication in this Journal of the two papers on 'Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athlete Statues' in 1880, and on the 'Influence of the Palaestra on Greek Art,' first published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Institution* in 1883 and republished in the *Appendix of Essays on the Art of Phidias* in 1885. Since then the main contentions have been set forth in various lectures, ending in a paper at the Archaeological Congress at Athens in 1907 on 'Alcmanes and the Olympic

Pediments' (to which artist the so-called Lemnian Athens was then also assigned). The present article also formed the subject of a paper read before the Hellenic Society in London, in the summer of 1923, as well as of a course of three lectures given at Cambridge, in the autumn of the same year. In dealing with the development of early Greek art I have carefully avoided entering upon ethnological questions, whether relating to the Hellenic world in itself or to its relations to Eastern civilisation. When referring to the 'Minoan' type I leave open the question of a direct influence on Greek art from Egypt and the East. It also appears to me that the problem of origin and early influences on Greek art may be modified when once thorough excavations—including prehistoric layers—have been made in the whole of Asia Minor.

as well as in ethics and politics, survive throughout the ages. In art it means that the classic type, however 'ideal' or responsive to man's desire for symmetry and harmony of form, is based upon the 'formal generalisation' of actual Nature presenting normal man both in body and features. It thus establishes the normal 'type' or 'ideal.'² Nature, as well as man's perceptive senses, practically remain the same throughout the ages. On the other hand, as regards science and ethics (including politics), Greek philosophy and Greek literature make a direct appeal to human reason, and this appeal finds a valid response in the human mind throughout all ages.

If these principles, which account for the survival and dominance of classical art and thought, are admitted by all who have given due consideration to the matter, it has not to the same degree been realised that this classic type was in no way established by the ancient Greeks during innumerable centuries of their own life, of which we have so many examples handed down to us in works manifesting a high degree of artistic skill; but that, on the contrary, its establishment for all times was the result of artistic achievement during a short period of from thirty to forty years, from about the year 480 or 470 B.C. to 460 or 450 B.C. If this could be proved, it would constitute one of the most remarkable instances of rapid and persistent evolution in the history of civilisation.

There are, of course, numerous reasons which can be discerned for this rapid change and evolution. We can discover them among the political, social, moral and religious developments, as well as in the interaction between the philosophic thought and taste in literature and the several arts among each other—all contributing to the realisation of the normal and ideal type of man in the plastic and graphic arts.

As regards the nude male body, the huge volume of monumental evidence in the extant remains of art in Egypt and the East, as well as from the whole of the Hellenic world, conclusively proves our thesis, that the classic type of the male figure, from the period mentioned through all subsequent ages, fixing the standard even for our own days, was not evolved in art before that period. This monumental evidence, however, goes to show that there was another transitional period, preparatory to the full establishment of the classical type, from about the middle of the sixth century B.C.—roughly speaking, from the development of the Attic black-figured vases and the vigorous beginnings of the red-figured style—to *circa* 480 B.C., the last traces of the non-Hellenic rendering of the human figure being ultimately removed in the thirty or forty years which we noted.

The type of the nude male figure, prevalent in the Hellenic world before that period of rapid evolution, was practically that of the youths handed down to us from what we may call, the 'Minoan age.'³ It is a singular fact that, with all the evolutionary and ethnological changes during those many centuries, this Minoan type should have persisted so long. The distinctive feature, most

² See my *Essays on the Art of Phidias* (1883), Essay II.

³ I call the type of body 'Minoan'

without reference to its existence in Egypt and the East or in the Hellenic world.

salient and characteristic, in these figures is the narrow wasp-like waist,⁴ accentuated in its narrowness by the comparative protrusion of buttocks, hips and thighs.⁵

This Minoan type has to be superseded by the Hellenic type.

It will therefore be seen on careful enquiry that the keynote for the Minoan type⁶ is struck by those youths who manifest, in most of the monuments that have come down to us, great skill in their daring performances with bulls, and were evidently the chief actors in such exhibitions of skill, which must have been popular in those days. With the tribute of admiration paid to them their own physical appearance developed its own standards for the people and spectators of such performances. As an analogy in modern times we need merely suggest the influence of the bull-fights in Spain which set a popular standard for the appearance of the chief actors in this national amusement. In one word, these youths represent the type of the *Acrobat*. To put the whole problem epigrammatically: the pre-Hellenic *Acrobat* will have to be converted into the Greek *Ephebos*. No doubt many social and political influences came into play to effect this change. But in its most concentrated form and direct influence, the establishment of two institutions of vital importance to the development of Hellenic life in its classic form, namely, the *Palæstra*, with the *Agonistic* games, is the determinant factor. The influence upon public taste of these institutions becomes still more marked and direct when art, especially sculpture (though the minor arts are in turn directly drawn into the same service), is

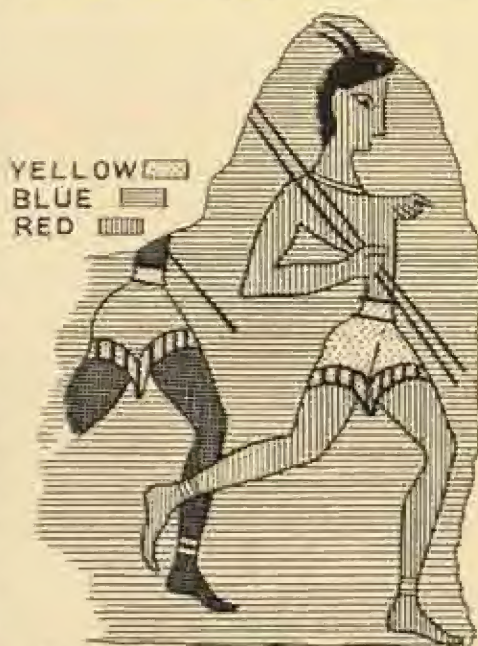


FIG. 1.—Fresco-painting from Knossos.

⁴ I wish at once to state here that in the present enquiry I am limiting myself to three characteristic features, which will be dealt with in turn. These are: (i) The body, the step from the narrow waist to the anatomically and physiologically normal treatment of the torso; (ii) The head, the supersession of the non-Hellenic ('Oriental') facial angle; (iii) The eye and its naturalistic treatment (especially in the profile view). When these three features together have been developed into the forms manifested in all classical works, Greek and Graeco-Roman, in conformity with the

classic type, this main achievement of Hellenic art has been consummated.

⁵ It is also possible that in 'Minoan' surroundings and before the introduction of athletic and ephebic standards in Greece, such antithetical characteristics appealed to taste.

⁶ I here merely give the latest specimen of Minoan wall-painting, kindly sent me by Sir Arthur Evans. The same type from numerous scenes with 'acrobatists,' etc., from Crete, Tiryns, Vaphio, etc., is well known and readily accessible.

called upon to commemorate in its plastic monuments the physical perfection of form in the development of the athletic youths which led to their popular victory.⁷ The Minoan acrobat was evolved by what we consider the spirit of luxurious Oriental life, coupled with the supreme dominance of fashion and taste by the ruler and his court—a skilled performer, whose essential function was to amuse the rulers as well as the populace.⁸

The Ephebic organisation, on the other hand, immediately responded to the social, political and military needs of the Greek communities and was of the highest importance in the historical development of their national independence, as well as in the growth and extension of their political power. The *Ephebos* represented the type of the healthy normal youth possessed of complete control over his body, so that such physical qualities could be used for the good of the State in times of peace as well as in war. These basic objects and aims had their immediate effect upon their educational system. The Palaestra, it can be shown, systematically developed all aspects of physical culture and even had an orthopaedic and therapeutic side—all tending to produce physically the most perfect man. We need hardly insist upon the fact that the sculptor, painter and vase-painter were similarly influenced and that, in fact, the Palaestra and Gymnic games became the school for plastic anatomy as applied to their art. They did not, as did the artists of later times, require to study anatomy at the dissecting table nor in the anatomical text-books of their days.

Now the evidence from classical literature, as well as from extant archaeological monuments, conclusively shows that the first steps in the emancipation from the 'Minoan' type synchronise in every point and fix the beginnings of this emancipation about the middle of the sixth century B.C. For we learn from Pausanias⁹ that the custom of erecting statues to victorious athletes began at this period. The two athletes thus commemorated were Rhexibios and Praxidamos, whose statues were of wood and not of stone or metal. They still presented the conventional archaic and not the naturalistic type, corresponding essentially to the dominant hieratic monuments which repeated themselves with the natural conservatism of such religious art for many ages before that period. In his description¹⁰ of the early statue of the athlete Arrhachion, the image still retains all the characteristics of conventional archaic art. Moreover, we shall see, not only in sculpture, but in the rapid development of Attic vase-painting, from the black-figured vases even to some of the finest red-figured vases, that it took some time to eliminate all the traces of the dominant¹¹ 'Minoan' type and to establish the Hellenic type, which

⁷ For the further development of this influence of the Palaestra I must refer the reader to my monograph, published in 1883.

⁸ We might also point to analogous developments as regards the female figure. All these characteristics again being based upon, and knit up with, the social, political and moral development of these different ages. In our own days, Oriental rulers visiting the West are known to have considered the dancers at our balls as paid

entertainers to amuse the exalted spectators.

⁹ I. 18, 7.

¹⁰ VIII. 40, 1.

¹¹ I must repeat that I do not propose to deal here with the wider question of direct Egyptian influences through the Cretan Dabbalides, the Samian and other Ionian schools on the art of the mainland of Greece. I use the term Minoan as manifesting a type familiar in many Cretan works which have come down to us.

leads us well into the first decades of the fifth century B.C. The same applies to the evidence of Greek coins when presenting the nude male figure, as well as to terra-cottas, bronzes and lead statuettes and other works of minor art.¹²

If, then, it was chiefly through the influence of the Palaestra and the *gymnic* games that the Greek artist was led to the establishment of the 'naturalistic type,' it is not astonishing that, especially in the beginning of this vital emancipation and engrossing artistic activity, this naturalism chiefly, if not exclusively, manifested itself in the rendering of the nude male body. This concentration on the body at first implied a want of interest in, or a neglect of, the head, the rendering of the nude female figure and of drapery. We therefore find that the archaic and conventional presentation of these falls behind the freedom and naturalism of treatment as applied to the nude male body. But, as every artist knows, whoever can draw or model a nude male figure can apply this same skill to any other part of the body or to any other subject he wishes to reproduce with adequate truth in composition and in the rendering of texture. Still, we find that in the rendering of the head the various works, dating from the close of the sixth century into the beginning of the fifth century B.C., retain the conventional (non-Hellenic) type,¹³ especially in the rendering of the facial angle and the treatment of the eye. We also find that the female nude figure does not for some time attain the same freedom coupled with harmony and proportion which obtains in the nude male figure of earlier dates; while, however skilful and attractive the rendering of the conventional folds and the elaborate ornaments may be, the naturalistic, and at the same time harmonious, rendering of folds and texture in drapery does not follow the advance made in the treatment of the nude male figure.

It is not, however, until that definite period of from 30 to 40 years (from 480/70 to 450/40 B.C.) that the adequate naturalistic treatment of all these elements *together* combines to establish the classical type. The decisive point marking this upward development, I maintain, is reached by Alcmanes, through whom this final advance was made. But even in the works we can attribute to that artist, and (to be more accurate still) in the Western Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, we shall detect and note in a definite feature some slight reminiscences or reverberations of earlier standards. The complete

¹² The wasp-like waist persists, not only in the works of the black-figured vase-painters, but even in those of some of the more perfect red-figured masters. G. von Lœbbeck (*Archaische griechische Vasenmalerei und Plastik*, AIA. Mon., Band xlv., 1918, p. 23) observes that even in a perfect vase of Euthymides (Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. XIV., 81): 'Nur um die Taille findet man hier wie dort noch eine Einschnürung.' The same applies to a bronze statuette in the National Museum at Athens (Ridder, *Catal. des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole*, Pl. III. and IV.). As

regards ancient coins, besides those we shall cite below, attention may be drawn to the beautiful and instructive series of Tarentine coins given by M. T. Vlasto, *Tarant. Dikrota*, 1923. In the full series of plates presenting Taras, it will be seen how the narrow waist persists, though the modelling of the torso and legs in a variety of poses shows exquisite drawing and relief of the later types and counteracts the 'wasp-like' narrowness of waist of earlier times.

¹³ As I shall show, this does not apply to satyrs, barbarians, etc.

and final establishment must be ascribed to Pheidias and, among extant works, to the sculptures of the Parthenon.

This is the thesis which the following evidence (in a necessarily compressed form) is to prove.

II. THE TREATMENT OF THE NUDE MALE BODY

We have seen above how the influence of the Palaestra and of the agonistic monuments in art set the keynote for the normal type of the perfect body. This was realised, not only in the general structure and the internal proportions, anatomical as well as physiological, indicative of health, strength and agility; but, through the systematised Palaestra and gymnastic games, the artist was provided with copious and typical illustrations of the greatest variety of attitudes. These attitudes again convey the functions and movements of the body with truthfulness to nature and with typical expressiveness and grace. In the first place, the Palaestra evolved a system of schooling for the successive attitudes in the various games and in what was called *skiamachia*. A system of drill was thus developed in which the sculptor and painter could study at first hand the various attitudes illustrative of the different phases of each game and contest, even the most complex ones. We can thus understand how such specially 'athletic' artists as were Myron,¹⁴ Pythagoras of Rhegion,¹⁵ and even the less specifically 'athletic' sculptor Alcamenes (with his statue of a Pentathlete, known as the *Model Encrinomenus*),¹⁶ are especially noted for the varied movements and attitudes which they put into their famous athlete-statues. It is also significant that, as Pliny informs us, Pythagoras was able to indicate in his statue of the Lame One (probably Philoctetes) the deviation from normal walking in conveying the impression of limping in the composition of that figure; while Alcamenes in his statue of Hephaistos¹⁷ was able even 'to indicate such lameness without the marked appearance of deformity.'

Yet, not only in the depicting of figures in a variety of attitudes does the influence of the Palaestra and of athletic art manifest itself, but also in the more complex inter-relation of figures among each other in one definite action, in grouped action. In works preceding the middle of the sixth century we meet with the endless friezes giving a certain 'picture-writing' narrative, trans-

¹⁴ When we consider the variety of athletic subjects on which rested the fame of this sculptor in antiquity, we can understand the puzzling passage in Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv, 57) for which various emendations have been suggested, 'primum his multiplissime veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior . . .'; especially when we take it in connection with the passage from Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* II, 13, 8) referring to the variety of attitudes in ancient statues and ending up with Myron, 'quid tam distortum et elaboratum, quam est ille

discolos Myrona' and, furthermore with a passage from Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv, 36) which conveys the impression of a certain limitation in the choice of subjects pertaining to Polyclitus. For this latter point see my commentary on Polyclitus in *The Argives Itinerary*, Vol. I, pp. 162-176.

¹⁵ Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv, 59: 'Symmetria autem claudicantem, cuius ulcers dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur.'

¹⁶ Cicero, *N.D.* I, 20. Valer. Maxim. viii, II, ext. 3.

¹⁷ Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv, 72.

ferred into the graphic arts from the literary arts (especially story-telling) similar to those which we find in Egyptian and Oriental art as well as in the earlier Greek vase-paintings and friezes¹⁸ down to the Corinthian vases, wherein one figure follows the other in the same direction. But in Greek vase-painting of the period following the introduction of athletic sculpture, about the middle of the sixth century B.C., particularly in Attic black-figured vases, we find well-designed actions and scenes which were clearly derived from the Palaestra and agonistic games. A distinct form of almost dramatic composition is introduced in which the whole scene is framed in a concentrated centre, isolated from the surrounding world, in that the figures at either side are facing each other and the actual contest takes place between them. The scheme for this form of composition is furnished by the numerous representations of one or more contestants, with a *gymnasiarch* and *ephebos* or a *paidotribes* and judge or umpire on either side (Fig. 2).¹⁹

This scheme of palaestric composition is found in some form in nearly all black-figured vases, as well as in the earlier red-figured vases under Andokidean and Epiketan influence, and even in later masters of conservative taste. Owing its origin to the reproduction of athletic contests it is transferred to mythical and heroic scenes, at first most pronouncedly in mythical scenes of contests similar to those of agonistic games, in which gods and goddesses or heroes take the place of the *gymnasiarch* and *ephebos*, but soon including other scenes as well.²⁰ Furthermore, the



FIG. 2.—PANATHENAE AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B. 140).

¹⁸ Even here we must note anticipations, especially in such works as the Vaphio cups and in some early metopes or vase-pictures where definite scenes are presented; but the dominant form is the picture-writing 'narrative' scheme in 'succession,' not a definite and fixed incident convincingly conveyed to the eye in one definite scene in space.

¹⁹ The same subject and treatment are shown in the contest of boxers on the vase figured in my article on Pythagoras of Rhegion, etc. (*J.H.S.*, I, p. 183, Pl. VI., fig. 2; where Laborde, *Vases de Louvre*, I, Pl. LXXIV., and Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Pl. VII., Nos. 787, 497, are referred to). Mr. C. D. Ricknell has since traced this vase to the Kunsthistorische Museum of Vienna, and

recommends that it should be republished. The same form of composition is applied to mythical subjects in which divinities take the place of *Gymnasiarch* and *Ephebos*; in innumerable instances mythical or heroic contests are illustrated, such as the wrestling of Atalanta and Pelops (Baumeister, 158), Heracles and the Lion, etc., as well as Thracian contests, Achilles and Penthesilea (*B.M.*, B. 323), the Flight of Aeneas (Baumeister, Pl. XXXII.), etc. Cf. for instance, Gerhard, *A.F.*, 206; Pfuhl, *Maleri und Zeichnung der Griechen*, II, Pls. LXXXVI., LXXXVII., Nos. 313, 314.

²⁰ I have elsewhere (*Pythagoras of Rhegion*, *loc. cit.*, in *The Influence of the Palaestra on Greek Art*, *loc. cit.*, and the

destination of the Attic Panathenaic vases and their immediate relation to commercial life all over the ancient world, had further indirect bearings on the introduction of such athletic composition.

This conservative schema, directly derived from the Palaestra, represents the scenes graphically in two dimensions, laterally and longitudinally; but, with the development of pictorial art, perspective and foreshortening were gradually introduced, leading to three dimensions in the representation of varying planes of depth. No doubt here the theatre and the dramatic representations of chorus and actors in the orchestra, and later in the orchestra and on the stage, accustomed the eyes of the spectator and, *a fortiori*, of the artists themselves, to still further varieties in the complexities of groups and scenes in three dimensions, until, finally, the painters who ushered in the great age of that art, notably Apollodoros, produced higher varieties of pictorial effects from light and shade and elusive pictorial modelling, directly advancing to actual scene-painting, so that he was known as *skiagraphos* and *skenographos*.²¹

What we are here chiefly concerned with, however, is that, in spite of these great advances in naturalism, chiefly produced by the influence of athletic art from the middle of the sixth century onwards, the Minoan type, especially as regards the treatment of the waist, survived for a considerable period even in the first half of the fifth century. This Minoan type clearly illustrates this marked feature and is generally to be found in acrobats in the various scenes of the popular sport of bull-fighting, as in the fresco from the Palace of Knossos,²² the Acrobat and Bull from the Boxer Vase of Hagia Triada,²³ the Bull-fight from the Palace of Tiryns²⁴ and from the Vaphio Gold Cup.²⁵ We find the same type in other figures as well, such as the Cup-bearer from the Palace of Knossos,²⁶ the newly-discovered Soldier Frieze from the same Palace, the Chieftain Vase²⁷ and the Harvester Vase,²⁸ as well as from the Mycenaean Dagger Blade with lion hunt.²⁹ As to the female figure, one of the Faience Goddesses from the Palace of Knossos³⁰ well illustrates the same characteristics. While as regards the goldsmiths' work, Minoan Seals³¹ and Minoan Gold Rings complete the survey of this early Minoan type.

Historical Congress in London, 1913, North American Review, June 1913, p. 708 endeavoured to show how, especially in athletic vases, the type of the game or contest from real life is supplemented by corresponding incidents (especially the 'Thesuan and Heraklean' cycle) from the mythical world, showing the same incidents of the contest on one and the same vase. I have also endeavoured to show how the Attic vases especially served definite political purposes bearing upon the events of the day, almost corresponding to political pamphlets and fly-sheets in modern times.

²¹ Hasegah, *s.v. eda*, *Plat. de l'Illar. Athen.* 2; *Schol. II. x.* 265, No. 4.

²² Bossert's 'Athlreta,' Pl. XL., fig. 63.

²³ Mosso, 'Palaces of Crete,' p. 219, fig. 91.

²⁴ Schliemann's 'Tiryns,' Pl. XIII.

²⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, vi. p. 187, fig. 370, and Mosso, *op. cit.*, p. 225, fig. 104.

²⁶ *Monthly Review*, March 1901, p. 124, fig. 6.

²⁷ Mosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8, figs. 33-4.

²⁸ Dussaud, 'Les Civilisations Préhelléniques,' p. 50, fig. 32.

²⁹ Schuchardt's, 'Schliemann's Excavations,' p. 229, fig. 227.

³⁰ *B.S.A. Annual*, ix. (1902-3), p. 77, fig. 56.

³¹ For a good selection of these, see Bossert's 'Athlreta' (2nd ed.), Pls. CCXXXI. to CCXXXIV.

The same Minoan characteristics are also found elsewhere on the Greek continent of varying later dates, as in the case of the silver statuette from Thessaly,²² in a leaden statuette from Laconia²³ and in the bronze relief-work on an Argive-Corinthian mirror handle from Olympia.²⁴



FIG. 2.—EARLY 'APOLLO' TYPES: LEFT TO RIGHT—CHIOSSEL-GOUFFIER, STRANGFORD, BORITTAN AND TENEÄ. IN BACKGROUND, RELIEF FROM ELEPNA.

The persistence of this same type is also manifest in numerous works of Greek sculpture from the early archaic period, such as the high relief statues of Dermys and Kitylos,²⁵ in the well-known metope reliefs²⁶ from the second temple of Selinus with Heracles and the Kerkopes and Perseus and Medusa, as

²² *J.H.S.*, xxi. (1901), p. 126, fig. 16.

²³ Bonart, *op. cit.*, figs. 250-1.

²⁴ G. Curtius, *Historische u. Philologische Aufsatze*, Pl. IV.

²⁵ *Atk. Mün. in. Pl. XIV.* (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, Pl. XXIX.).

²⁶ Brunn-Bruckmann, 286, or Benndorf *Pls. I.*, II.

well as in later works, such as the pediment of the Siphnian³⁷ and metopes of the Athenian Treasuries (Heracles and Lion),³⁸ at Delphi and in the numerous nude so-called Apollo-statues³⁹ which are either early statues of athletes or, if Apollos, unquestionably reproduce the athletic types of their time. Many of these correspond to the description given by Pausanias of the athlete Arrhachion.

These characteristics of the Minoan type, from which Greek art will have to emancipate itself before the classical type can be established in the nude male figure, having persisted for so many centuries, are with comparative rapidity replaced by the representation of the healthy human torso at the end of the sixth century or the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. This progress can best be illustrated by four instances of nude figures⁴⁰ here given in their chronological sequence: the 'Apollo' of Tenea, the smaller Boeotian type,⁴¹ the so-called Strangford Apollo and the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo. The last two indicate the rapid transition effected between 480/70 and 460/50 (Fig. 3). Now the mere juxtaposition of these four representative works will hardly require further comment as to their evidence in showing the gradual advance from the Minoan type of the nude male body, especially as regards the treatment of the waist and of the whole torso, to the 'classical' type of body. The earlier figures corresponding to the description of the earliest athlete statues, as described by Pausanias (*l.c.*), show the persistence of the Minoan type down to the middle of the sixth century B.C.; while the Strangford Apollo marks the period between 480 and 470 B.C. and the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo marks the establishment of the classical type between 465 and 450.

This persistence of the earlier type can best be shown with comparative chronological accuracy in some datable coins. The coin here given (Fig. 4) of Poseidonia, with the figure of Poseidon, dates from the very close of the sixth century down to about 480 B.C.; that of Caulonia, with the figure of Apollo, is of a similar date (? Oresteia), as is the so-called Thracian (Theseus) coin, with a man and bull (Thracio-Macedonian Perrones), about the same date; while the Elean coin with Zeus, dating from the beginning of the fifth century, not later than 450 B.C. (according to Seltman, *Temple coins of Olympia*, Pl. III, β , γ)—all bear witness to this survival. An instructive series of coins is furnished by the Syracusan Damareteia (named after the wife of Gelon), the date of which is again fixed at about the year 480, with the succeeding coins by Eumenes, Eumietos and Kimon. In the Damareteion the waist of the charioteer presents, in a very marked form, the exaggerated thinness, while this characteristic gradually vanishes in the succeeding coins, until we come to the very beautiful type of Syracusan coin of the later fifth century B.C.

³⁷ Pausanias's 'Delphi,' p. 110, fig. 30 (from 'Fouilles de Delphes,' Pls. XVI, XVII).

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 174, fig. 70 (from 'Fouilles de Delphes,' Pls. XLIV, XLV).

³⁹ Cf. W. Dörig, *Les Apollons Archaiques*.

⁴⁰ The Tenean statue has here been placed first for reasons of group-com-

position, in style it is second. In this case, as well as in the illustrations given hereafter, the fact is to be noted that the works referring to the treatment of the body illustrate also the points to be subsequently dealt with concerning the facial angle and the treatment of the eye.

⁴¹ *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, Pl. IV.

Turning to Greek vase-painting the evidence is, from the nature of the mass of material at our disposal, most complete. Before the middle of the sixth century the predominance of the Minoan type is markedly manifest. The Cretan and Mycenaean vases reproduce it more accurately, while, from the nature of the geometric style, this characteristic of the torso is formalised into a mere triangle, the point being downwards, as in the figures, both male and female, from an Attic Prothesis vase of that period (Perrot-Chipiez, iii. p. 173, Fig. 56, and *ibid.* Fig. 59, p. 76). In the subsequent Island vases and the



FIG. 4.—COIN OF POSEIDONIA.



FIG. 5.—COIN OF CAULONIA.

Corinthian vases of the orientalizing style, it is seen in the rendering of the Departure of Amphiaros (Furtw.-Reich., 121 and 122). When we come to the early black-figured vases,¹² the two vases representing boar hunts show the same characteristic, as also the nude figures from the François vase as well as other early Attic vases of the black-figured type with athletic subjects, and the vase of Andokidean style representing Heracles with the bull (Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 4, Fig. 1).



FIG. 6.—COIN OF THRACE.



FIG. 7.—COIN OF ELIS.



FIG. 8.—COIN OF SYRACUSE.

Even when the red-figured vase-technique superseded that of the black-figured vases, the early narrow-waisted body still survived for a considerable period, though more and more sporadically, e.g. in the two vases figured by E. Langlotz (*Griechische Vasenbilder*, Pl. IV., No. 8, and Pl. IX., No. 15), in both of which the narrowness of the waist is accentuated by the swelling-out of the buttocks and thighs, the one in Berlin signed by Andokides, the other

¹² In the black-figured vase figured by Hoppin (*Handb. of Fig. Vases*, III., 1924) on p. 7, the reminiscence of the triangular body of the geometric period is most

marked. Cf. also, Gerhard, *Err. u. Kamp.* p. 8, Pl. II.; Bayet and Collignon, Pl. VII.; *J.H.S.* xxvii. Pl. XVIII.

at Munich by Euthymides (*F.R.* 81); another Epiktetan vase at Copenhagen with a youth cutting a *hern* (Langlotz, Fig. 5; Beazley, 17, 9 bis); still another by Euphronios at Munich (*F.R.* 22), a youth with spears; another Epiktetan vase (Paris, *Cab. des Méd.*, 509; Hoppin, *Handbook*, 324; Beazley, 17); another at Boston (VII. 12), youth with halteres by the Panaitios painter (Langlotz, Pl. VII., Fig. 12; Beazley, 84, Fig. 51); still another painted by Duris (Boston, IX. 15) of a Discobolus (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XXI).⁴³ To these I can now figure (through the kindness of Mr. M. Nyhoff of The Hague) a new reproduction of the athlete-vase ascribed to Euphronios (Fig. 9) by an improved method of photography which renders more truly the proportions, as well as the details, of the figures from the rounded surface of vases.

However far advanced in the rendering of the anatomy of the human body the several works from the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the fifth century may be, the survival of the Minoan treatment of the waist retards the full establishment of the classical type as regards the body. This was not achieved before the years 480/70. After that period, however, followed the widespread activity of the various schools and artists in sculpture who were nearly all of them chiefly occupied with what may be considered, if not merely the production of athlete statues, at least of works showing an athletic character. Among these we may especially note the school of Aegina (particularly famous for their statues in bronze with a distinctive technique of their own), such as Kallon and Onatas, Glankias and Anaxagoras, while at Athens Antenor, Amphikrates, followed by Hegias, Krílios and Nesiotes, are chiefly associated in our mind with the production of the earlier and later statues of the tyrannicides, a new class of monument commemorating contemporary historical events, which affected the character of works, naturalistic in treatment and closely allied to athletic art. But it is chiefly owing to two artists of this transitional period, whose activity extended for some years after 480 to 470, Myron and Pythagoras of Rhegion, that the complete introduction of naturalism into the representations of the nude male body was effected. We

⁴³ Other striking instances can be seen in that remarkable collection of photographs of Greek vases made by Mr. Beazley, which he has generously put at my disposal; in Vol. I. No. 3 at Berlin, 2159 and *F.R.* Pl. CXXXIII.; No. 10 from New York, 210. 18; 47 Vase from St. Andrews; 83 Achilles and Penthésilas; 84 Vase in Louvre; 75 Vase from Würzburg; Vol. II. 23. To these must also be added from E. Pfuhl's recent publication (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923) among earlier black-figured vases a Protokorinthian jug, (Vol. ii., Pl. 13), an Exekias-vase (iii. Pl. 38, No. 230), while of later red-figured vases, iii. 107, 366 (in which the older athletic composition is retained), a vase by Euthymides, as also in his

Thouros and Korone amphora (ii. Pl. 109, No. 369, Vol. I., p. 464), especially in the body of Peirithoos; while in the vase attributed to the Kleophrades-painter (iii. Pl. 113, No. 377) he sees a further development of the style of Euthymides (Vol. I., p. 436, § 466); in the Leagroskrater at Berlin (iii. Pl. 124, Nos. 396-7) he holds this 'palaestrie' subject marks in Euphronios a transition in the Panaitios style; in the well-known boy with the hare (iii. Pl. 133, No. 412) Pfuhl believes that this *Leagroschale* of developed style (*entwickelte Style*) a certain grandeur is added to the 'Epiktetan modellin type' and to the playful subject ('gewinnt sogar der epiktetischen Rundbildhaupte und dem harnenden Spiele mit dem Hasen eine gewisse Grösse ab') (I. p. 451, § 413).

must always remember, however, that some of their most noted works were probably produced nearer to the middle of the fifth century B.C. and entered fully into what we might call the Pheidias period.

For the complete realisation of this struggle to establish the classical type we must, however, look to Argos, where Ageladas established the famous school which seems to have attracted sculptors from Attica as well. For I can see no reason to doubt the literary traditions which record that Pheidias, as well as Myron, together with Polycleitos of Argos, were the pupils of this great teacher. It was thus (as we shall see) that, not only with regard to the body, but in the head as well, Argive influence and principles of proportion permeated the traditions and productions of the Athenian artists of the Pheidias period in



FIG. 9.—RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (BUTLER, 2180).

Greek art. No doubt Ageladas laid down his principles of proportion in a theoretical work which he must have realised in his actual sculptures. But his famous pupil Polycleitos, as is well known, endeavoured to establish these proportions in a definite 'canon,' which has fortunately been handed down to us in the survival of reproductions of his *Doryphoros* and *Diadumenos*. It is, however, probable that the Attic artist Alcámenes on his part endeavoured to establish a more traditional Attic type in his 'model' pentathlete.

If all we have hitherto adduced relates chiefly to the treatment of the body, the same also applies to the treatment of the head, as well as to the treatment of the eye. Yet, as was stated above, in all works dating from the first half of the fifth century B.C., and especially in the numerous and almost complete series of vase-paintings, we distinctly find that, both as regards the head, its facial angle and the treatment of the eye, the earlier 'non-classical'

type survives after the classical type of the nude body, more directly subject to 'athletic' influence, has been fully established.

III. THE FACIAL ANGLE

The facial angle of these earlier periods differs from the classical type, which was fully established only towards the middle of the fifth century and continued throughout the whole of Greek and Graeco-Roman art down to our own days. In fact the two types stand in definite contrast to one another. To put this difference or contrast shortly in its most manifest features: the classical type is square or oblong, at times circular or ball-like, while the earlier, non-Hellenic type is triangular. The same may apply to differentials of the body as we have noted them. Furthermore (to single out the most salient characteristic in this distinction) the lateral view of the frontal portion of the head from occiput to the tip of the nose, in the pre-'classical' period, represents the two sides of the point of a triangle, with the acute angle placed laterally. >: while the classical type approaches as nearly as possible to the half of a square, though the tip of the nose necessarily projects to a certain degree. J. In nearly all the heads from the works which we have shown or cited in the previous section, this characteristic of Minoan and archaic Greek heads will manifest itself in contrast to the works of Polykleitan, Pheidias and later Greek art, and persists in Attic art, as we shall see, in some slighter reminiscence, even into the last stages preceding the Parthenon. This contrast will be clearly manifest when comparing such a type as that here given (Fig. 10, from v. Lönken, Pl. I, 5), or any of the heads from the illustrations here given until now, or practically any of the works of the archaic sculpture and painting extant, with heads of works of the 'classical' period in Fig. 11. The heads here figured are chiefly of Polykleitan works (the head of the bronze Naples Doryphoros, of the Diadumenos at Dresden, of the female head from the Argive Heraeum, from one of the metopes of that same temple, and, finally, the larger pedimental head of the so-called Theseus from the E. pediment of the Parthenon).⁴⁴

It will be observed that in this earlier non-Hellenic type the chief and most striking feature is the oblique projection of the comparatively long nose, in relation to the forehead and the occiput above, and of the downward line to the chin. In some of the most exaggerated types of this class this pointedly oblique direction of line presents a striking contrast to that of the Polykleitan type which underlies the whole classical type of head and features. It really marks the main difference between the head of an animal and of a man; the former being decided by the important projection of the snout in the lower animals, the latter by that of the more perpendicular forehead. Now we shall note how this long-nosed, oblique projection persists for a considerable period in Attic works down to about the middle of the decade between 460 and 450,

⁴⁴ The female head from the Heraeum has, without any justification in fact, been proclaimed to be Attic. Its provenance and style absolutely confirm its attribution to Polykleitan art.

until in the Pheidian period (represented for us by the Parthenon sculptures) the Argive facial angle is blended with, and eliminates, all traces of the Attic type. This latter type, however, had already been established, as a distinct classical type, before the advent of the Parthenon sculptures, and was not without its influence on many works of later periods in classical art.⁴⁵ The actual climax in this process of establishment of the classical type, as it were, the watershed in the flow of this evolutionary process of Greek art, is to be found definitely in one monument, namely, in the transition between the Eastern and Western Pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the date of which has been fixed at about the year 456 B.C.

What we shall find, however, in this process of converting the oblique facial angle to the perpendicular outline, both in the numerous series of works



FIG. 10.—FEMALE HEAD FROM EARLY VASE-PAINTING.



FIG. 11.—PROFILES OF FIFTH-CENTURY HEADS.

of sculpture and, especially, in Attic vases, as well as in works of the other minor arts before Pheidias, is that the more grotesque facial angle is little by little replaced by the more harmonious outline of the classical type, until we come to types that distinctly impress us with their classical quality and even

⁴⁵ The persistence of such an influence of schools, in spite of a great variety of individual deviations from a fixed type in the subsequent full development of art throughout the Hellenic world, may perhaps show itself in that the "square" outline of the head in the Argive canon, more than a
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century later, shows itself in the smaller round heads of Lysippus (the circle completely fitting into a square); while the more elongated pear-shaped head of the Praxitelean type is related to the pre-Pheidian Attic type.

with specific Attic 'grace.' But in this last phase, which we may provisionally identify with the work of Alcámenes, there is a distinct, and not unpleasing, survival or reminiscence of the earlier Attic type, in that the nose remains comparatively long and the line from forehead to occiput is not yet so rectangular as in the Parthenon sculptures, but very slightly recalls the oblique rise to the occiput.

Yet, before illustrating this natural development of the classic type in the case of the facial angle (which also applies to the treatment of the eye in the following section), we must pause for one moment and consider more fully a striking and marked interference with this normal progression, which illustrates a conflict in the development of Greek art in every phase, as it also applies to the evolution of art in every country and period of subsequent ages.

III. THE CONFLICT OF REALISM AND IDEALISM IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEK TYPE AS REGARDS THE FACIAL ANGLE

In the evolution of Greek art from archaism to naturalistic freedom we have always noted, as the decisive element in this progression, the struggle of the artist with the reluctant material and with his own want of skill in handling the tools of his technique, leading gradually to the introduction of new materials more properly suited to the rendering of the objects of nature which he desires to present and the invention of new technical processes. We should thus naturally expect that the artists succeeding the earlier generations would, step by step, advance in the skill and freedom of their technique and, following their imitative instinct only, would more fully realise truth to nature as compared with their predecessors. But we find that this is not always the case—that, in fact, there are other elements retarding or accelerating this progression. For, with the desire for change and progress, there is also the conservative element of *habitation*,⁴⁶ which makes for the continuance of the type or convention to which the eye of the public (including the artist) has become accustomed. In the case, for instance, of Athenian coins and Panathenaic prize-vases (notably the Athenian coins with the head of Athene, and the figure of Athens on the Panathenaic prize-vases⁴⁷) the archaic type, fixed in both cases in the time of Peisistratos and Solon, is retained in its archaic form for many generations and continues to present the same conventional and non-classical features, though Greek art had given to the Hellenic world the most perfect classical types in the works of Pheidias and the great painters of his own and succeeding ages. No doubt in both of these cases it was not only the natural tendency of conservatism and habituation which affected this persistence of type, but also the especial conservatism which always attaches to money-value and to the fact that coins are recognised even in distant countries as tokens of value in a known form. As for the vases, the Panathenaic oil-

⁴⁶ See for this element in aesthetics my *Harmoneion and Conscious Evolution* (1923), Part II, chaps. II. and III; but especially pp. 172 seq.

⁴⁷ See types of Athene, Pfuhl, *op. cit.* in Pls. LXXXI., LXXXII., LXXXIII., LXXXIV., Nos. 300-309.

vases became an object of commercial value, as it were a trade-mark. Furthermore, all artistic representation connected with religion and religious rites has ever had the tendency to retain the characteristics of a definite type with such religious associations. Innumerable instances to prove this can be adduced. To illustrate this fact by two well known monuments, we need but consider the conventional rendering of the Athene from the Aegina Pediment, her attitude, drapery and face, as distinguished from the comparative freedom and naturalism of the warriors grouped on either side. The other significant illustration is furnished by that remarkable large low-relief from Eleusis, representing Demeter and Persephone facing each other, with the boy Triptolemos between them (see the relief in the wall in Fig. 3). Here again there is a striking contrast in attitude, drapery, head, face, and treatment of the hair between mother and daughter. Demeter bears distinct traces of the archaism of an earlier period, while Persephone in all these features points to a period not earlier than 450 B.C. I have always maintained that this contrast is due to the fact that the artist, who must be ascribed to this later date, was directly influenced by an earlier well-known cult-statue of Demeter which, though perhaps with some modifications, he was led to reproduce in his relief, as the sculptor of Athene from the Aegina Pediment was influenced by such an earlier temple statue, perhaps even a *ῥέαρος*, while in the battling warriors he freely produced nude male figures of an athletic type in the contemporary style of the bronze technique peculiar to that island and its school.

Finally, we must never forget the primary impulse in all aesthetic expression and effort of mankind, namely, the 'harmonistic instinct' ⁴⁰ which makes for symmetrical forms, recognised as such even through habituation and convention, which frequently opposes itself to 'realism' as represented by the *imitative instinct*, which latter, no doubt, asserts itself when definite objects in nature or 'meanings' in life and mind are presented by a work of art.

Similar influences were doubtless active throughout the whole of this transitional period; which led the hand of the artist to reproduce the established type preceding his own age, when clearly he was able to present figures with a higher degree of naturalism. We thus find that in the representations of satyrs, fauns, centaurs, negroes and also old men and women, both in the facial angle and the treatment of brow, eye and nose, the artists of the beginning of the fifth century were, as a matter of fact, capable of manifesting far greater naturalistic freedom than, in works of sculpture and painting, and especially in the large series of red-figured vase-paintings, they gave to the heads of gods and heroes and of the typically Hellenic personalities. The freedom thus manifested, if it had been allowed to advance, unchecked by other dominant tendencies, would probably have led to a rapid growth of *realism* in art, which, as a matter of fact, did not dominate Hellenic art until about the third century B.C., notably in the schools of Pergamon and Rhodes. When we consider the nature of the praise bestowed upon the most famous works of Myron (generally

⁴⁰ For the exposition of these fundamental principles I must refer the reader to the chapter on Aesthetics (Part II, chaps.

ii. and iii.) in my book, *Harmonicism*, etc., 1923.

resting on the degree of truthful imitation of life and movement which, in many cases, deceived the spectator into mistaking the statue for a real object) we must feel that, if art had progressed on these lines only, it would, in the next generation, have led to complete realism. Similarly, when we learn from Aristotle⁴⁹ that the works of the painter 'Polygnotos (with their *ethos* or lasting characterisation) were nobler than reality, those of Pauson below reality, and those of Dionysios equal to reality,' we feel that in that art also the progression to realism was imminent. In sculpture as well as in painting this was averted by the establishment of *naturalistic idealism* in art through Alcámenes, Polycleitos and Pheidias and the great sculptors of the fourth century, as was the case in painting by Polygnotos himself, followed by the great masters of the fourth century. It may be noted, moreover, that Polycleitos, so directly concerned with the establishment of the classical type, was even criticised by Quintilian⁵⁰ (whose criticisms generally tend to favour the



FIG. 12.—HEADS OF CENTAURS FROM THE METOPES OF THE PARTHENON.

advancement of the bolder, more realistic schools) for limiting his subjects to the presentation of youthful figures and avoiding the stronger characterisation of more advanced age: 'quin aetatem quoque graviorem dicitur refugisse nihil auius ultra leves genas.' But even in the case of Myron the restraining influence of classical religious art, as opposed to realism, shows itself, when we compare the Athene (from the group of Marsyas with that goddess in the restoration of the Frankfort statue) with the Marsyas bronze in the British Museum.⁵¹ The Marsyas shows, especially in the type of the head, all the realistic characteristics of the wild man of the woods, while the Athene displays the earlier type of Attic heads still manifesting slight traces of archaism. An interesting illustration of these conflicting tendencies is presented when we compare the types of certain heads of centaurs from the metopes of the Parthenon—which were produced at an earlier date than the figures in the pediments and the frieze. It has long since been noted that some of the earlier metopes show traces of

⁴⁹ *Poet. ii.*: Πολύγνωτος μὲν γὰρ εὐστρώτος, Πάυσων δὲ χείρων, Διονυσίου δὲ ἰσχυροῦς ἴκασιν.

⁵⁰ *Inst. orat.* xii. 10, 7.

⁵¹ Restoration of Myron's Athene and

Marsyas, *Arch. Anz.* 1908, facing p. 241; Athene from Marsyas group, Frankfort, *Jahreshefte*, 1909, Pl. II.; Brit. Mus. bronze Marsyas, Collignon's *Sculpt. Græque*, Fig. 244.

Myronian character. In comparing three of these heads, which I have here selected (Fig. 12), it will be noted how the earlier of these three (on the right) corresponds to the Myronian Marsyas, while the second (in the middle) leads over from the earlier to the later, in which latter the head, corresponding to some of the bearded Attic citizens in the Parthenon frieze, practically assumes the classical type.

What we thus find is: that in one and the same work, on the same coins and vases and sculptured groups, in the beings that do not enter into the religious and the heroic world of ancient Greece, and even are not the typical Hellenic men and women, the treatment of the facial angle, brow and eye, differs essentially from the persistence of that triangular scheme which, though in a modified form, continues down to about the year 400 B.C., and that such beings are rendered with comparatively greater truth to nature. This is especially the case in the rendering of the whole Dionysiac cycle.

In the vase-paintings giving such Dionysiac scenes this difference of type becomes strikingly noticeable. At the same time it is still more remarkable when we find that, in the head of Dionysos himself and of the Hellenic heroes or men and women grouped with them, the more conventional, even archaic, facial angle, as well as the treatment of brow and eye, are retained. I here venture to suggest that this persistence is to a great degree to be accounted for by the development and influence of scenic representation in the history of the Greek drama. The growth of the drama out of the satyr dance and play is well known and, in its further stages, ultimately led to the distinction between tragedy and comedy. Tragedy, however, retained its heroic character. In the words quoted above from Aristotle regarding Polygnotos, 'the works of Polygnotos were *εὐκταί*,' above reality; while those of Pauson were below it.⁴² The tragedy always rendered the ideal characterisation of its *dramatis personae*, while comedy not only entered into the actual daily life of the time, but rendered the 'satirical' and even caricatured types and incidents of that life. In the actual scenic representation of the great tragedies the *cothurnus* served to give greater stature to the actors. They wore a mask corresponding in size to the dimensions given by the added *cothurnus* and it even, perhaps, served as a kind of megaphone to improve the audibility of the actor's words. In any case, the mask more or less fixed the type and the *ethos* or character of the heroic personalities. In comedy, on the other hand, the variety of characters from real life, or approaching to it, and the smaller masks, representing a variety of comic individuals and scenes, led to far greater realism. But the satyr play was, by contrast, appended to the tragedy; and in the Dionysiac cycle, with its choral dances, Dionysos himself and his immediate attendants were massed together with the more grotesque and realistic beings, contrasted with the Hellenic divinity and his Hellenic followers.

We thus find that, in the facial angle of these divinities and heroes throughout the great development of the red-figured vases down to about the year

⁴² For this character of Polygnotos as *εὐκταί* in connexion with the passages in Aristotle (*Poet.* 2 and 6) on *ἡδονή*, cf. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, II, pp. 41-46.

465 B.C., the reminiscences (in some cases the actual reproduction) of the non-classical facial angle, contrasted with the completely naturalistic and realistic



FIG. 13.—COIN OF CATANA.

rendering of Silenus, satyrs, fauns, etc., obtain.²³ Thus the coin of Aetna (Catana), Fig. 13, with the head of Silenus (Hill, *Histor. Greek Coins*, iii. 22), dating from about 476 to 461 B.C., fully illustrates the naturalism of the woodman, with no traces of the earlier triangular facial angle or of the con-



FIG. 14.—DIONYSIAC TYPES ON VASE PAINTINGS.

ventional treatment of the brow and eye. The type of the head of the god on the obverse, on the other hand, retains all these earlier characteristics.

²³ *Dionysos and Maenads* by Amasia, *Wiener Vorlesungsblätter*, 1889, Pl. IV., 2, p. 472; *Bacchic hydria*, *Furtwängler-Reichhold*, Pl. 51; *Brit. Mus. kylix signed Epiktetos*, *Furtw.-Reich*, Pl. 73; *Mannion and Ruggers*, (*B.-F.*) *Guthrie's Dissertation*

Vasenbilder, Pl. CCVII.; *Thiasos*, red-figured amphora in Munich, *Furtw.-Reich*, Pl. 44; *Iris, Heros and Silenos* by Brygos, *Furtw.-Reich*, Pl. 47; *Return of Dionysos to Olympus* by Oltos, *Mon. d. l.*, X, Pls. XXIII., XXIV.

The same difference in type is borne out on innumerable vases.²⁴ I here give three illustrations (Fig. 14) kindly sent to me by Mr. J. C. Hoppin with full authority to use them.^{24a}

In all these instances, and many more which could be adduced, it is clearly manifest that, for some time preceding the year 480 in sculpture in the round and in relief (including terra-cottas), in coins, and especially in black- and red-figured vases, this more conventional facial type continues to be dominant.

But here again we must indicate some limitations. For we find that, though it thus prevails in the rendering of normal men and women, i.e. of young people (*leves genas*) or even fully developed men and women, when it comes to the rendering of typically old people as such—old men²⁵ and women—the prevailing type gives way to a greater realism approaching that of the Ræschke cycle. Thus the illustration here given of an old woman from real life breaks through the predominant Hellenic type of that period. It must be noted, moreover, that in the old man and the old woman at the



FIG. 15.—OLD WOMAN (FROM A VASE AT SCHWERTS).

²⁴ From Mr. Beazley, *Black-Fig. Album*, p. 52, Corneto, Bruschì Coll., amphora, Dionysos in ship, Mascioni's photo 2905; p. 53, *B.M. B.* 302, hydria, Mansell's photo 3076; p. 54, vase in Bonn; as to type, Bechli 1890 is something like; p. 63, *B.M. B.* 256, Nikosthenes; p. 64, *B.M.*, fragment of kantharos signed by Nikosthenes, and Petrograd, an alabastron; p. 73, Vienna, Meissner 217, the 'Boeotia Hydria,' *F.R.* 51; *Red-Fig. Album*, Vol. I., p. 18, Hoppin Collection, inside of kylix by the 'Nike-xenos Painter'; p. 22, *B.M. E.* 253, Hoppin's *Euthymides*, Pl. XXXVII.; p. 42, Petrograd 624, shoulder of hydria; p. 48, pelike in Syracuse with ephedra leaves; p. 49, Würzburg kelos, Dionysos between two Silenos; p. 71, *B.M. E.* 511, *J.H.S.* xxxiii., Pl. VIII.; p. 72, Munich 2311, 'Berlin Painter,' *J.H.S.* xlii., Pl. V., Heurt Coll., New York, *J.H.S.* xlii., Pl. II.; p. 78, *Selection of vases by 'Berlin Painter'* including the bell-knitter, Louvre G. 175 (C.F.A., France, ii. Pls. XII. & 7, XIV. 4), p. 88, Berlin 2160, 'the Berlin Amphora,' *J.H.S.* xxxi., Pls. XV., XVI.;

p. 98, Munich 2428, *F.R.* 73, 2, Vol. II, p. 5, Munich 2344, by Kleophrades, *F.R.* 44, 46; p. 5, Louvre G. 102 by Kleophrades, details C.F.A., France, Pt. II., Pls. LXXXIV. 5, LXXXVI. 1-3, and Leyden, shoulder of hydria, Centaureumachy, Boudes, *Fuss de Leyde*, Pl. XI. 1; p. 42, Munich, *F.R.* 49, and fragment of outside of another similar at Castle Ashby.

^{24a} At the same time Mr. Hoppin informs me that these vases will be published in the forthcoming fascicle of Mr. Pottier's *Corpus*. I have therefore only given the upper part of the figures, showing the characteristic differences between the heads of Dionysos and Bacchantes contrasted with those of satyrs, two from a kylix of Darius (Hoppin, 59), the other from one of the stamnoi corresponding to the vase in the Hope Collection (No. 18) published by Mr. Tillyard.

²⁵ This limitation also includes portraits and caricatures, such, e.g., as in the Euphronios type of vase (cf. the later period of that artist) given in Ifold, *op. cit.*, 160, Nos. 470 and 471.

angles both of the Eastern and the Western Pediments of Olympia (one of which probably was repaired or restored in a later period) the same difference exists. But these exceptional instances only confirm the restraining dominance of the Hellenic type as such during the whole of this period.

III (continued).

If we now return to examine the evolution of the facial angle in the works of art dating from the close of the sixth century to the year 460 B.C., beginning with the well-known larger works in sculpture—such as the Aegina pediments, the facial angle of the Athena from the centre, as well as of the kneeling Hercules from the Eastern Pediment, and of the forward-striding nude figure and the fallen warrior—we still note the marked survival of this conventional earlier characteristic in the heads, however far advanced the naturalism in the nude male bodies may be. The same also applies to the series of 'Apollos' of the type of the Apollo of Tenos, which we have considered before in connexion with the treatment of the body. A series of archaic heads from works of sculpture is given by von Lücken⁵⁶ for purposes of comparison with heads in contemporary vases.

The same persistence of type in the early facial angle is to be noted in the *Korai* of the Acropolis Museum at Athens, a marked exception being the undoubtedly latest of these and the most attractive of them, in which Mr. Dickins rightly suggests an anticipation of Argive influence.⁵⁷

In Attic reliefs the same development, from a gradually receding survival to the establishment of the classical outline, is illustrated by the Diskophoros-relief,⁵⁸ the Stele of Aristion, as well as that of Alcenor from Naxos,⁵⁹ until the last stage is reached in the stele from Naples (Brunn-Bruckmann, 416). Finally, even in the advanced relief from Eleusis⁶⁰ referred to above, and in the relief from Pharsalos⁶¹ and in the beautiful so-called Mourning Athene,⁶² the earlier influence is still noticeable.

When now we turn to the evidence furnished by Greek vases, we have already noted that of the works preceding the full establishment of style in the Attic black-figured vases about the middle of the sixth century B.C., the earlier

⁵⁶ 'Archaische Griechische Vasenmalerei und Plastik,' *Abh. Mün.* Vol. XXXXIII, pp. 47-174, Pls. I to V. This interesting article, the point of which is the important relation between vase-painting and sculpture, contains much valuable information. Naturally one cannot agree with all the conclusions or even comparisons, e.g., the similarity which the author intends to establish between the head of the so-called statue of Apollo at Athens (No. 1558; after Demma, *Les Apollons archaïques*, fig. 202) and the early amphora at Munich (No. 837; Furtw.-Reich., *Greek. Vas.* Pl. XXI.) appears to me markedly to show contrast rather than similarity. The head of the statue in its

general oblong outline seems rather to be of the nature of an anticipation of the 'Argive outline' while the female head from the amphora is a marked, almost caricatured, instance of the non-classical triangular outline.

⁵⁷ Dickins, *Op. Art. Mus.*, p. 244.

⁵⁸ Brunn-Bruckmann, 457a.

⁵⁹ B.-H. 41, a. and b.

⁶⁰ Svoronos, *Des Athènes National-museum I.* Pl. XXIV.

⁶¹ E. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 131, fig. 17.

⁶² Lechat, *Mon. Piot.* III, 1896, Pl. I. See also Dickins, *op. cit.* I. p. 260.

triangular profile, practically in direct contrast to the 'classical' type, is dominant.²² The same is to be noted in the Attic black-figured vases down to the very close of the sixth century B.C., from the François vase onwards, even down to the earlier painters of red-figured vases of the Andokidean and Epiktetan style.

When, however, we follow the advance in style and in freedom of the red-figured vase painters, we note that the triangular profile gradually recedes and approaches the later square outline. But this process is very gradual and, in spite of any advances made in this direction, is marked by the presence of reminiscences of the archaic triangular outline in the sequence of potters' and painters' studios, as well as in the development of individual artists, such as Euphronios. Practically in all the red-figured vases preceding the 'Pheidias' influence, traces of this survival still obtain; while not until we reach the masters grouping round 'Meidias' and the freer drawings on the white lekythoi is the type, manifest in the outline of the face and the proportion of features which we identified with Polykleitos and with the heads from the Parthenon, fully established.

In practically all the vases preceding this period the reminiscence of the earlier facial angle manifests itself in that the line from the forehead to occiput is not yet horizontal, but shows some rise, though slight, from forehead upwards. But the survival manifests itself especially in the greater length and oblique line of the nose and a slight recedence of mouth and chin. It will also be noted that in some of the most perfect vase-paintings of this transitional period, in which such reminiscences are barely traceable, there will be one or more figures, especially in the case of divinities, in which the long-nosed type predominates, often coupled with an archaic treatment of the eye. The abridged list of such illustrative vases given in a footnote has been selected from Mr. Beazley's *Album*, kindly placed at my disposal, and from Dr. Pfuhl's recent work.²³

²² Cf. also the recently published volume of Heppin, *Handbook Bl.-Fig. Vases*, Paris, 1924; from Aristonothos onwards, especially illustrations on p. 7. Arnolds, p. 40; Erechios, p. 93; Hemminghaus, pp. 127, 129; Klittios, François Vase; Nikothenos, pp. 197, 202, 209, 216, 235; Phrynos, pp. 313, 315; Sakonides, pp. 320, 322; Sopillos, 337. Note also the treatment of the eye in these vases.

²³ Beazley, *Red-Fig. Album*, Vol. I, p. 13, B.M. E. 34; Heppin, ii. p. 16; p. 14, B.M. E. 256; Catalogue, iii. Pl. X.; p. 16, Boston; Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 6, fig. 1; p. 17, B.M. E. 256, six details, including two heads; p. 20, Selection of vases by the 'Nikothenos Painter,' including B.M. E. 160 and Munich 2304, *B.S.A. Annual*, XIX. Pls. XVIII., XIX.; p. 21, Berlin 2265, 'Euphronios Painter,' *J.H.S.* xxxiii, p. 331, fig. 3 (inside) and *Lohrbuch*, vi. p. 253, lower figure (one side of outside), p. 22, B.M. E. 253,

Heppin's 'Euphronios,' Pl. XXXVII, p. 23, Berlin 2180, 'the Leagros Krater,' Pfuhl, Pl. CXXIV.; p. 25, Munich 2306, Panel Amphora, Herakles and Cerberus, p. 30, Munich 2421, shoulder of hydria, *Forl. Reich*, 71; p. 31, Munich 2590 and 2421, *F.R.* 32, 71; p. 32, Cornato, *F.R.* 91 and Louvre G. 42, *F.R.* 112—Phintias; p. 33, B.M. E. 159, *J.H.S.* xii, Pls. XX., XXI. and Boston, *Antike Denkmäler*, ii. Pl. XX.; p. 34, Louvre G. 103, *F.R.* 92, 93.—Euphronios; p. 36, Munich 3629, *F.R.* 22—Euphronios; p. 37, Berlin 2278, *F.R.* 123, the Sosias kylix; p. 38, Berlin 2279, Hartwig, Pl. XXIV.—Perikles; p. 39, Munich 2307, 2308, *F.R.* 14, 81; p. 40, Munich 2309, *F.R.* 53; p. 41, Boston, 'the Hesilios Plate,' Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 31, fig. 16, and Vienna, *Musée* 333, *F.R.* 72; Vol. II, p. 6, Louvre (Kleophrades painter), kalyx-krater, G. 162, *Monumenti d. I.*, suppl. Pl. XXIV, and *Corpus*, 25.

This characteristic treatment of the facial outline in red-figured vases will also be noted both in sculpture in the round and in relief as well as in terra-cottas. It is not until we come to the sculptures of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum that the Polycleitan proportions and facial outline had been fused into Attic art. Still, the long-nosed and more slanting outline never entirely disappears from Attic art, and this longer facial outline even maintains itself in the distinctively Attic art of a Praxiteles in the following century.

But, in spite of these reminiscences of the non-classical facial outline in the red-figured vases of the Greek masters preceding Meidias, the classical type of head in its leading characteristics has been definitely established by them, as in sculpture the heads of Apollo and of the Lpith Women in the Western Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia clearly convey to us the Attic grace and sense of proportion to be found in contemporary vase-painters, while the heads from the Eastern Pediment of that same temple do not yet manifest these qualities.

IV. THE TREATMENT OF THE EYE⁶³

In the works hitherto figured as illustrations or referred to in other publications, it will have been noticed, while dealing with the proportions of the body and the facial angle, that, however great may have been the advance achieved in the transition from the sixth to the fifth century B.C., the treatment of the eye still comparatively lags behind in the adequacy and naturalism of its treatment. The human eye is, of all the outwardly visible features of man, the one which is most expressive and distinctive of human nature, of man's life, intelligence and character. It does not mark only his physical distinctiveness, but also his psychological characteristics, his moral sensibility and individuality. In the appeal which beauty makes to the human senses, to the heart and mind of the spectator, it is the most decisive feature. Lucian (*Imag. T.*), when constructing his 'model beauty Panthia,' refers to the great Delphian painting of

Louvre, Pl. XII, 8, Pl. XIII, 2, 5, Pl. XIV, 1 and 6, Pl. XVI, 1-3. See also, p. 8, Hydria, Roman, unpublished and Hydria Leyden, (Kleophrades) Ranter, *Vases de Leyde*, Pl. XI, 1; New York, fragmentary kalix-krater, for details see Beazley, *P.A.*, p. 41, fig. 23; p. 9, Paris, Bih. Nat. 535, fragments signed by Kleophrades, Hartwig, Pl. XXXVII, p. 13, Leyden, *J.H.S.*, xxx, Pl. VI, p. 65, Munich (Satyr and Maenad); Hoppin collection, style of Duris, also Munich *Jahrbuch*, 34, pp. 84-5; Vol. IV, Maenad and Dionysos, stamnos, Hoppin collection, unpublished. To these might be added from Pfuhl's recent work, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, etc., the following illustrative vases: Vol. III, Pl. 70, No. 267, Andokides; Pl. 91, No. 321; Pls. 115 and 116, Nos. 379 and 280, Kleophrades; Pl. 117, No. 381, Phantias, Pls. 121, 122, Euphronios.

⁶³ In the progress of our exposition of this

enquiry I have come to realise that limitations of space will not admit of my dealing exhaustively with the part concerning the eye on the same scale as has hitherto been adopted. It was even my intention to add to the text lists of vases made in various museums (especially the British Museum) at various times, as well as from the chief vase publications (such as Furtwängler-Beichhold, supplemented recently by Pfuhl and others). Finally, Mr. Beazley generously placed at my disposal his invaluable collection of photographs from vase paintings, so that the points under discussion could there be tabulated. I must defer the publication of such lists (which may be of some value to special students) to a future occasion. I have also omitted drawings of a long series of eyes from vases of different periods and have limited myself to a series of eyes by Euphronios only.

Polygnotos for the eyebrow of Cassandra as indicative of her fateful character: while an epigram (*Anthol. Gr.* iii. 174, 5—*Planud.*, iv. 150) poetically refers to the expressive power of the eye in the painting of Polyxena by Polygnotos, in the picture-gallery of the Propylaea of the Acropolis, in that 'the whole Trojan war lay between the eyelids of the maiden' (*Ἐν βλεφάρουσιν παρθενικᾶς ὁ Φρυγῶν κείται ὅλος πόλεμος*).

The reason for this comparative imperfection in the rendering of the human eye in that interesting period of transition, during the first half of the fifth century B.C., to the great masterpieces of Attic art of the second half of that century, when compared with the perfect rendering of the human figure, its variety of attitudes and movements, its exquisite composition and grace, its redolence of harmonious life, can be accounted for by the fact, to which attention has already been drawn, that, in the first place, it was the Palaestra which led the artist thus to study the human form, as 'athletic' art struck the keynote of his artistic creativeness—all of which tended negatively to a comparative neglect in the treatment of the head. But even after the head received the same attention, it was chiefly in the works of sculpture, and the sequence of technical advance within that art itself, that the types of human beauty were evolved by the artist.

Now whatever degree of adequacy sculpture may attain in the rendering of the head and the face and all its features, there is one feature in which the art of the sculptor can never attain the complete rendering of its important significance in conveying life and character, namely, the eye. The infinite variety of character and expression conveyed by the eye is chiefly due to its distinctive colour, and this colour again is affected by the play of light and shade which, from the position of the eye itself beneath the projecting brow, adds infinitely to the variety and changes of aspect. It is true the Greek sculptors not only inserted eyes of different colour by means of different materials into the socket of their bronze statues, but they also added colour to the marble and stone statues in the round and in relief. We may say that practically all the pedimental statues, as well as metopes and friezes, were thus coloured. This is not only true of the 'poros' groups, but of the marble figures as well. There is no doubt, for instance, that all the unworked smooth surfaces, such as the caps of the Lapith Women's heads in the Eastern Pediment of Olympia, were coloured. Traces of such colouring have been preserved in many works. In the same way in reliefs, the Aristion stele also retains much of its colouring.⁶²

The same applies to the treatment of the eye.

Now, it was chiefly through the advance of Greek painting (which at first

⁶² The flat marble Lyttas stele (*Antike Denkm.* iii. Pls. XXXII., XXXIII.; *Ausgeber* 1922, *Beilage* i.; Pfuhl, Vol. III, Pl. 177, No. 487) had no relief, but was completely painted. I remember that in 1878, when this stele, together with other works of sculpture, were temporarily deposited at Athens, before the building of the museum, I tried the experiment on a number of

similar flat stelae (unsculptured and with no traces of painting) of carefully washing the surface; and, in several cases, detecting such traces of colouring and drawing. We may safely conclude that all these flat stelae, without relief, were provided with painted figures. This also shows the close relationship between the crafts of painting and sculpture in this period.

was itself under the influence of sculpture and its principles of technique and composition), towards the close of the sixth century and throughout the whole of the fifth century, that the sculptor himself was led to the more adequate rendering of the eye, and we can also note, throughout the whole subsequent development of Greek art, how these advances in painting are reflected in sculpture.

The first great step that was achieved in the development of Greek painting is attributed to Kimon of Kleonae, who, we are informed,⁶⁶ 'invented otagraphia,' which clearly meant the proper rendering of the profile view of the eye, so that the conventional treatment of the eye in archaic sculpture and vase-painting was superseded by the rendering of the upward and downward look and the general life and freedom thus given to the eye.

Roughly, there are three broad subdivisions in the treatment of the eye in Greek vases. The first is the full-faced view, dominant practically throughout



FIG. 10.—THE THREE STAGES OF TREATMENT OF THE EYE IN GREEK VASE-PAINTING.

the whole of the black-figured period, but also occurring in some early red-figured vases.

The second is represented by the flat oval, which dominates the archaic r.f. period and presents many later developments. The third

and last gives the correct rendering of the profile view (here taken from the eye on a shield in a white lekythos, quoted above)⁶⁷ and leads us to the middle of the fifth century to the vases of the Meidias period and the advanced white lekythoi.

The real development is enacted in the second class, which presents a great variety of treatment. For, with the advance of red-figured vase-painting the flat oval outline of the eyelids is modified in that the upper or lower lid is drawn with a wavy curve and at the inner end of the lids is left open, while the eyeball is placed at various points, indicating a variety of directions of the gaze. But the eyeball itself is not yet given in profile, but is generally a simple circle. These advances may be ascribed to the 'innovation' of Kimon of Kleonae. But to the influence of the Polygnotan cycle of painters must be ascribed the final correct rendering of the profile view of the eye. As far as I am aware, the first attempt to represent the treatment of the eye in a series of vases was made by Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith (*B.M. Cat. Gr. and Etrusc. Vases*, III., 1896) and by M. Pottier (including also the treatment of the ear) (*Catal. d. Louvre*, iii, p. 855, 1906).

In endeavouring to fix the chronological landmarks in the treatment of the eye in this transitional period of Greek art as regards sculpture,⁶⁸ we can note in the works previously examined, both in the round and in relief sculpture, that the eye still retains the archaic treatment, certainly down to the year 480 B.C. As regards reliefs, the step is marked from the Naxian Relief (in which foreshortening has already been attempted in the frontal view of the foot, but

⁶⁶ Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv, 56.

⁶⁷ Riezler, *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen*, Pl. XXXVI.; Pfuhl, *op. cit.* iii, Pl. 299, No. 543.

⁶⁸ This whole question as regards sculpture will be dealt with more fully elsewhere.

in which the eye is still presented within the flat almond-shaped outline of the eyelids) to the Naples Relief, in which the profile view of the eye is much more adequately rendered, though the sculptor has blundered in giving a frontal view to the upper thigh, while the part from the knee downwards is twisted into profile view. But we cannot go wrong in maintaining that the complete and correct rendering of the profile view in sculptured relief is not to be found until some years after 480 B.C. As regards sculpture in the round, we may take three heads as definite landmarks: the first being the so-called 'blonde' or 'red-haired youth' from the Acropolis Museum (Dickins, *Cat. Acrop. Museum*, No. 663; Lechat, *Sc. Att. Acrop.*, p. 377, l. 40; Deonna, *Les Apoll. arch.*, No. 15, pp. 140, 353), the next is the head now placed on the torso (Dickins, *op. cit.* No. 698; Lechat, *op. cit.* p. 452, l. 38; Schrader, *Arch. Marm.*, p. 59, l. 48); the last is the head of Apollo from the Western Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. In the blonde youth the eyes are still distinctly archaic in character, the eyelids forming a flat almond-shaped oval. It certainly dates before the year 480. In the next two we have a progression towards the proper treatment of the eyebrow and eyelids, the eyeball not being of the bulging character which we find in the heads from the Aegina Pediment. None of these works, however, shows a characteristic later treatment of the eye, the earliest introduction of which is to be found in some of the heads from the Parthenon Frieze, namely, the projection and continuation of the upper eyelid over the lower at the outer angle of the eye. In classical sculpture subsequent to the year 438 this becomes a marked and characteristic treatment of the eye.⁶⁶

The same progression could be shown in ancient terra-cottas, especially in the series of reliefs from Melos and Loeri.

In spite of the conservatism in type of coins,⁶⁷ referred to above, we have

⁶⁶ I pointed out this characteristic and its importance as a chronological landmark in Greek art in 1884, when comparing a later modification of the Hesperide from one of the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with a marble head in the Museum of Madrid (*J.H.S.* v. pp. 171 *seq.*, Pl. XIV.). In the Olympian head the eyeball is more prominent and the eyelids join on the same plane at the outer angle, while in the Madrid head the upper lid projects and is prolonged over the under lid. 'All the heads from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia have the same characteristic treatment. In fact this detail seems to mark the line between the works before and after about the year 430 before our era. So far as I have been able to examine (the point at present, the heads from the metopes of the Parthenon have the same early treatment of the eye as the Olympian sculptures; while the extant heads from the frieze of the Parthenon have the later treatment of the eye. [This detail may prove of some importance in determining

the chronological relation between the sculptures of the Olympian pediment and those of the Parthenon, as well as in determining the exact chronology between the Parthenon sculptures among each other.]) I must add that, while at that time carrying on this special enquiry, I was much perturbed in finding that one of the heads among the casts of the pediments of the Aegina Temple also had this marked projection of the upper lid; but, on examining the originals at Munich, I found that the head had been restored by Thorwaldsen.

⁶⁷ Still a progressive survey of the coins of Athens, as now published by Syonopoulos (*Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923) is instructive as regards the treatment of the eye: from the time of Peisistratos and Solon (Pls. II., IV., V.) and the Peisistratidae (Pl. VI.) to the battle of Marathon (Pl. VII.) to Themistocles and Kimon (Pl. VIII.)—in which Nos. 26 and 27 show some advance—to Pericles (Pl. IX.); through the Peloponnesian War; 429, to Peace of Nicias, 412 (Pl. XII., except No. 1)

fixed chronological landmarks in the case of the Damareteia, 480/479 (see G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 38 seq., Pl. III., 20) in which the eye of the female head on the reverse has not attained to the proper profile treatment⁷¹; while (as has already been remarked above) the same is the case with the head of Zeus on the coin of Aetna (Hill, *op. cit.* p. 43 seq., Pl. III., 22), though, as we noted in the case of the Silenus, the artist has shown that he could render the eye with greater naturalism. The advance in the two heads of Athena on the coins of Sybaris and Thurium (Hill, *op. cit.* pp. 49 seq., Pl. III., 25, 26) dating from the middle of the fifth century B.C. still further illustrates this same progression.

But by far the fullest series of ancient monuments illustrating such a progression in naturalistic rendering is furnished by the innumerable vases at our disposal. I had prepared a list of vases from the later black-figured through the earlier red-figured vases, down to those marked by the Meidias vases, which would clearly convey this progress of naturalistic advance down to the Pheidonian period of Greek art and would prove that the final step was achieved between the years 480/470 B.C. and 450 B.C. But I find that conditions of space would make it unreasonable to expect that so much should be assigned to the present paper. I have, therefore, decided to illustrate this process merely by a more detailed examination of the work of one of the greatest Greek vase-painters and potters, namely, Euphronios, whose artistic activity, moreover, manifestly comprises the whole period from the early archaic beginnings through the transitional period down to the final freedom and perfection of the age of Pheidias.

In dealing with chronological problems in ancient history and ancient art I am strongly opposed to a somewhat prevalent formalism in measuring the activity of the author or artist under examination by the stereotyped formula of a 'generation' or '*Menschenalter*,' chiefly from about thirty to forty years. Now what is here forgotten is that in all ages there have occurred numerous instances in which the activity of such great men has extended beyond fifty and even sixty years. Aeschylus wrote his last play when he was eighty-one; Sophocles when he was ninety; Euripides when he was seventy-four years of age. Simonides and Plato are such well known instances; while Titian and, in our own days, the painter Harpigny, have produced some of their remarkable work after their eightieth year. As regards the evolution of vase-painting in Attica in general, we must subdivide the chief periods in this evolution by the age following the Peloponnesian War down to the end of the Persian War, followed by the Kimonian period and ending in the Periclean age; or, to adopt leading artists as such chronological landmarks, the first period under the influence of the innovations introduced by the painter Kimon of Kleumae, followed by that of the great painters of the Polygnotus age (which corresponds to the age of the statesman Kimon), and ending in the age dominated by the genius of Pheidias. Now it has been generally admitted

to (Pl. XIII.) the Sicilian Expedition (except Nos. 2 and 3), to the Fall of the Thirty and the victory of Socrates, 403-365 (Pls. XV., XVI.) to Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, when the eye is

properly drawn.

⁷¹ In the same coin struck by Eiminetos after 450 B.C. the eye is more properly rendered.

that the red-figured vases grouped under the name of Euphronios and his workshop as a potter reach back to the period when Euthymides was a leading figure (from about 510 onwards), through the so-called Leagros^{71a} period to the Panaitios period and a son of Leagros, namely, Glaukos.^{71b} According to Buschor⁷² his work extends down to the sixties of the fifth century B.C. This view is confirmed by Pfuhl (*Mal. u. Zeich.*, Vol. I., p. 448), who maintains that Euphronios 'could well have been active from about 510 to 470 or 460 B.C.' Miss E. Radford (*J.H.S.* xxxv. (1915), pp. 108, 109) assigns a period of forty years from the Antaios krater to the Berlin polychrome kylix. If we turn to our own experiences at hand, with regard to the life and work of artists, such as that of Titian, Harpigny and many others, there is no reason why the 'Grand Old Potter' (Euphronios)—for such he certainly was in ancient Athens—could not have been active down to about 450 B.C. For if he was born about 530 B.C. he would have been eighty years old in 450 B.C.

In thus dealing with the vase-painting signed by, or ascribed to, Euphronios and his potter's studio, I naturally cannot here enter into a discussion of how far the anonymous vases, or those identified with the Painsetos period, or with the Horse Master, the Berlin Master, the Pan Master, or the interesting masters discovered by Mr. Beazley and associated with the name of Nikoxenos or Eucharides, or the Diogenes Painter, or Troilos Master, are all to be embodied immediately within the work and style of Euphronios.⁷³ But we cannot go far wrong in identifying these works and their style and execution with the art of Euphronios.

Now if we thus survey the work of Euphronios, with special reference to the treatment of the eye, we can distinguish four separate periods: the first the Leagros period, associated with the style of Euthymides, which treats the eye in profile very much in the manner of the Hektor vase of that great master in which the formal oval of the eye (Pfuhl, Pl. 105, No. 364, Vol. II., p. 509) is modified by a curve or wave either in the upper or lower eyelid or in both. In every respect the treatment both of the facial angle and eye in these earlier works of Euphronios is distinctly archaic in character, especially in his 'athletic' vases (see our Fig. 9). To my mind the end of this period is reached in the case of the famous Antaena vase (Pfuhl, Pls. 125, 126), in which the outline of the eyelids retains the same oval curve, but in which an innovation is introduced which is more pronounced in the next or penultimate period marked by the white-grounded Diomede fragment. For, though the other figures of this vase are on the same level as the Euthymides vases with regard to the treatment of the eyelid, Euphronios here adds small lines to the upper and lower lids to indicate eyelashes. A further transition is marked by the famous Theseus vase (Pfuhl, Pl. 127; Buschor, Frontispiece), in which the eye of Athena is more rounded and approaches to the freer, later outline, while that of the young Theseus is of markedly oval archaism.⁷⁴ The

^{71a} Who died in 467.

^{71b} Alive in 423.

⁷² *Greek Vase Painting*, p. 138.

⁷³ Cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.* pp. 446-*seq.*

⁷⁴ There is a strange analogy between this group on the vase and the large Eleusian relief, on the mixed archaism of which I dwell in an earlier part of this paper.

well-known Boy with the Running Hare (Pfuhl, Pl. 133, Vol. II., p. 509), perfect in so many ways, still shows an archaic treatment of the eye, though (as is the case with such masters as Brygos and Duris and other vase-painters of the advanced severe red-figured period) the line of eyelids at the inner angle remains open and the eyeball, pushed to the very edge, indicates the downward look of the running boy. The third, or Panaitios, period (which is certainly not earlier than 480 B.C.) is represented by the important white-grounded Diomedes fragment (Pfuhl, Pl. 134, No. 415, see also Vol. I., pp. 448, 510). We are here at the very end of the archaic period in all respects, excepting the treatment of the eye, for, though far advanced beyond the Euthymides period—in fact marking the step from father to son as regards the pet names, Leagros and Glaukos—the outline of the eyelids still retains the slightly curved oval and indicates the upper and lower eyelashes in a manner similar to that



FIG. 17.—TYPES OF EYES FROM EUPHRONIAN VASES.

of the Antaeus vase. We now come to the third stage, marking the advance from 480 downwards, perhaps to about 460 B.C. in the Orpheus fragments (Pfuhl, Pl. 135, No. 416, see also Vol. I., pp. 448, 510).

We may now assume that the paintings of the Polygnotan school had exercised their influence on the vase-painter and that the profile of the eye in the indication of the brow and, especially, in the upper and lower eyelids, so as to give a correct naturalistic rendering of that profile view, has been consummated. The minute drawing of the upper eyelid, enforced by two lines, compared with the single line of the under lid, has left the formal oval or curved oval far behind. Nor are the eyelashes so crudely and wrongly indicated; but their

presence is confined either to the thicker line of the upper lid, or, as in the case of the female figure, delicately indicated at the inner angle. On the other hand, the correct perspective of such a profile view of the eye is still wanting in that the eyeball itself retains its full roundness as in the frontal view. This defect is finally overcome in the beautiful white-grounded kylix, Aphrodite on the Goose in the British Museum (Pfuhl, Pl. 183, No. 498, also Vol. I., p. 507), as well as in the female head on the fragment (Pl. 182, No. 497). Here the eyeball itself is no longer round, but is reduced to an oval, profiled outline, less so in the Aphrodite than in the female head on the fragment.

That Euphronios and his followers could have represented the eye with greater naturalism, if they had desired to do so, is manifest when we turn from typical Hellenic youths or maidens to satyrs or to the representation of older people, as we have previously seen that this has been the case throughout earlier Greek art with regard to the facial angle. The striking portrait of a warrior (Pl. 182, No. 496), as well as the caricature of a bearded man (Pl. 182,

No. 495) amply prove this. Among the works of his followers, such as the Horse Master, we can note this marked advance, leading to greater power of expression in the beautiful Penthesilea vase (Pfuhl, Pl. 185, Vol. II., pp. 509, 510, 528) and also in other vases of this master (Pls. 186-188).

To this last phase in the development of the Euphronios-vases also belong the works of the Achilles painter, as well as of the Niobe (Argonaut) painter, the painter of the red-figured amphora with two Maenads' heads in the Louvre Museum (Buschor, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXIII., Fig. 138) and the painter of the severer white lekythoi, including the Master of the Warrior with the eye on the shield already quoted. I venture to fix the date of these latter vases at about the years 460/440. The date for this final consummation in the establishment of the classical type in the body, the facial angle and the eye, as regards sculpture, is fixed by the transition from the Eastern to the Western Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The further development in the treatment of the eye, leading to varied expression of emotion, is to be found in the later white-grounded lekythoi, as well as in such vase-painters as Aristophanes and Meidias and in the beautiful specimens of metal engraving represented by the Ficoroni Cista (Pfuhl, Pl. 253, Vol. II., p. 628) and the mirror (Pfuhl, Pl. 252, Vol. II., p. 624). In all of these the eye is presented either in profile, full face or partial full face, and conveys the most varied shadings of moods and expressions. No doubt this advance was influenced by the development of painting in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and especially by the technical advances attributed to the painter Apollodoros.

CONCLUSION

I hope it has thus been proved that, for the establishment of the classical type, the Minoan acrobat became the Greek *ephebos*, and that this consummation was in great part due to the influence of the Palaestra and its organisation in ancient Greece, as well as to the establishment of the ephebic institution, and that this advance to the naturalistic ideal was also achieved as regards the head and the human countenance within that period. Also that this effectively took place between the years 480/70 and 460/50 B.C. I hope it has also become clear that there were in the great period of art in Attica two main types: the purely Attic and the Argive Attic. I hope to show elsewhere that the one is represented by Alcámenes, the other by Pheidias, while the Realism of Myron is active between the two.

CHARLES WALSTON.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1922-24

As three years have elapsed since the appearance of the last report under this heading, from the pen of Mr. A. J. B. Wace, it is only to be expected that a large amount of material should have accumulated in the interval. The present report attempts to mention all the discoveries, of other than trifling importance, made during 1922 and 1923, together with summaries of such excavations carried out in 1924 as were completed, and of which particulars were available, before the end of August in that year. Naturally it has not been possible to dwell fully on all these undertakings and finds, and where a full report has already been published, I have contented myself with only brief mention of, or at times a mere reference to, the contents. Even so, the author is probably not alone in feeling that this report is unpardonably long.¹ To facilitate reference, the order of arrangement employed in the last report has been retained.

AMERICAN SCHOOL

In 1922 Dr. C. W. Blegen continued his excavations of the prehistoric mound at Zygouries near Cleonae, and his discovery of a large store of complete or at least unused vessels of L.H. III. date, and of an adjacent potter's oven, is an important contribution to our knowledge of the domestic wares of this period, as well as an indication of local origin. The other remains of houses were less interesting, but further evidence was obtained with regard to the cemeteries, belonging to almost all periods of the occupation of the site.² In 1924, two other sites in the same region, but both of the Classical epoch, were partly explored: at Nemaa, where the work will, it is hoped, continue for at least one more season, being financed by supporters of the American School in Cincinnati, a promising start has been made. Though a trial trench dug right across the *temenos* of the well-known Temple of Zeus, south of the temple, yielded very few finds, apart from a clearly marked (and

¹ My indebtedness to the annual reports now published by the French School at Athens, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (for 1922, xlv, pp. 484 ff.; for 1923, xlvii, pp. 508 ff.), is beyond measure. For written or oral information about their own discoveries I wish gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of Sir Arthur Evans, Professor Ernst Buschor, Director of the German Institute in Athens, Professor Paul Wolters, Professor A. Persson, Dr. B. H. Hill, Director, and Dr. C. W. Blegen, Assistant-Director, of the American School,

M. L. Roussin, Secretary of the French School, Dr. F. G. Walter-Mauve, and Dr. D. Levi. The last-named most readily allowed me to examine at leisure, in the work-room of the Camille Museum, his important finds of pottery from Afriti.

The principal discoveries of 1922-23, on the Greek mainland, in Macedonia, and Thessaly, have been already summarised in my report in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1922-23*, pp. 77-93.

² Cf. *Art and Archaeology, 1922*, pp. 210 ff.

apparently deliberately laid) stratum of building-chips (dating from the construction of the temple), a well-built wall of Hellenic date was found, which may perhaps be the *peribolos* of the sanctuary, but is believed by the excavators rather to be connected with the adjacent Gymnasium. This structure was their chief find, and is on a massive scale; it is situated about 100 yards to the S.W. of the temple, and has among its rooms a bath with three chambers, and the water-supply can be once more established. Other Hellenic walls have been recognised under the ruined Byzantine church to the south of the temple, and will be followed up next year; owing to the presence of vineyards, expropriation will be a costly element in the exploration of the site. An incidental find of interest is an inscription of legal import which makes mention of L. Mummius, the captor of Corinth.

Not far away, at Philus, the generosity of Mr. G. D. Pratt has enabled the School to start operations on another promising site. Extensive trials have alone been made in 1924, with promising results. On the Acropolis, traces of elaborate arrangements for collecting and storing rain-water indicate that this was due to the absence of a spring there; there are no certain signs of the presence of a theatre, but an important structure at the west end of the Acropolis hill may prove to have been the *Telesterion*. Other buildings *in situ* have been recognised to the S.W. of the Acropolis, and the so-called 'Palati' proves on investigation to be a Hellenistic structure, of basilical plan; more of the city-wall has been traced, and its course at one point shows that since antiquity the course of the adjacent stream must have changed. I must omit fuller details of buildings, in order to have space for the mention of a most interesting series of inscriptions found built into, or buried in, a ruined Byzantine structure; these texts, some of which are clearly of sixth-century date, and others from the following century, are all cut on uniform blocks from a building, and the style of their dressing, as Dr. B. H. Hill, the Director of the American School, kindly informs me, is reminiscent of that of the Heraeum at Olympia. Their contents show them to belong to a series of which one or two incomplete examples were previously known (cf. Roehl, *I.G.A.*, 28 = *I.G.*, iv. 439) dealing with *Ὀφιοί*, and it is almost superfluous to add that their value for the study of the dialect and alphabet of Philus cannot be exaggerated. Of the other finds, the most noteworthy are the numerous terra-cotta figurines, both from the Acropolis and the lower town, of archaic and later types alike; the most usual of the former is one representing the Argive Hera, with large discs on the shoulders (cf. those from Tiryns). It may be noted that, after a delay which will not, let us hope, be often emulated, the results of some previous trials made at Philus, in 1890, have now been published.²

No small interest attaches to another excavation by Dr. Blegen, who has explored a small sanctuary-site, close to the summit of Mount Hymettus, in a little natural hollow on the crest, some 500 yards to the N.E. of the top. A pocket of charred soil, doubtless from burnt-offerings, proved to be full of pottery, nearly all consisting of small, coarsely-painted vessels of the

² *A.J.A.*, xxvii, pp. 438 ff.

Geometric Age. A roughly-dressed stele (of the local marble) was found lying in the precinct, and there are indications from the presence of Roman lamps that the site was one of a long-enduring cult. The fact that several of the fragmentary vases found in 1923 bore incised inscriptions, in very early-looking lettering, is an additional reason for our hoping that the site will be all cleared down to bed-rock, and that publication of the inscriptions will follow at an early opportunity. In 1924 several hundred more small vases, mostly complete, were added to the previous year's yield.

In Asia Minor, two sites were attacked in 1922, before the Greek Retreat in the late summer put a sudden end to such work. Operations were resumed at Sardes, where a group of houses near the Pactolus was examined, which yielded painted terra-cottas and both Hellenic and Lydian pottery. Tombs, of no great interest, were located and cleared at various points, and many trials dug. The most interesting find was a hoard of thirty electrum staters of Croesus, with lion and bull types, found in a ravine north of the Artemision.⁴ At Colophon a joint expedition of the American School and the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard began work in April, and made many noteworthy discoveries during a long campaign. A large residential quarter, consisting of blocks of fourth-century houses, divided by well-paved and well-drained streets, was cleared, as well as part of a large public square, with remains of a colonnade, built over destroyed houses of earlier date than the fourth century, and a fine Roman bath-house. A sanctuary, identified as that of Cybele, with a *temenos* of unusual plan, proved to have been a repository for public archives, and among the inscriptions preserved here was a long text of the time of Alexander the Great, which relates to an extension of the city-walls. No less than three cemeteries were located: one was of the fourth century, one of the Geometric period, much destroyed, but showing traces of incineration, and finally a single tholos-tomb, pillaged, but datable in the light of adjacent potsherds from it, to the Mycenaean (L.H. III.) period, showed the presence of a Mycenaean cemetery as well.⁵

BRITISH SCHOOL.

Mr. Wace continued in 1922, and on a small scale again in 1923, his excavations at Mycenae, of which the earlier stages were described by himself in the last summary.⁶ In 1922 the tombs formed the principal objective, and supplementary work was done on the Palace on the Acropolis, experimental work on the Hellenistic theatre and gymnasium close to the 'Tomb of Aegisthus,' and a survey made of the interesting Mycenaean stronghold on the summit of Hagios Elias. Several rich tombs of the chamber type were cleared in the Chalkani cemetery, the great chamber-tomb '505' underneath the road not far from the 'Treasury of Atreus' was successfully dealt with—no small feat of engineering—and much of the fallen material was removed from inside the large ruined 'Tomb of Aegisthus,' without, however, revealing

⁴ *A.J.A.* xxvi, pp. 389 ff.

⁵ *J.H.S.* xli, pp. 262 ff.; *Id.* (for 1922).

⁶ *B.C.H.* xlv, p. 649 f.; *Bulletin of the Times Lit. Suppl.*, Oct. 20th, 1922.
Arch. Inst. of America, 1923.

an interment, though the yield of pottery was most important. In 1923 the main discovery, which lack of time and means prevented Mr. Wace from fully following up, was a mysterious rectangular structure in massive Cyclopean masonry, built on the reverse (north) side of the ridge from the tomb of Clytemnestra. The absence of floors makes it doubtful if this was a house, in spite of the finding of some plain white stucco, and it is difficult, especially without its being all excavated, to find an easy explanation of its purpose. An interment in an immense *pidia*, associated with L.H. III. pottery, was found in the southern of the two chambers into which the building is divided, and the other finds in the structure show that it cannot be later than the beginning of L.H. III.

It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Wace's Mycenae results are shortly to be published in full.⁷ The small objects are now exposed in the Mycenae room at the National Museum at Athens (end case on the left wall), and the pottery, grouped according to the tombs, etc., from which it came, in the Museum at Nauplia.

In the spring of 1924, under the leadership of the writer, the British School returned once again to the scene of its activities from 1906 to 1910, namely Sparta. The formidable task of clearing the theatre was commenced, and after digging through some sixteen feet of debris, and much impeded by the walls of the complicated Byzantine settlement which extends over the whole of the stage-buildings, orchestra, and lower parts of the *cavea*, we reached the orchestra, and uncovered the front of the Roman stage. Though stone-quarriers in Byzantine times had made sad havoc, even digging below the orchestra-floor level, it was possible to obtain the essential measurements for the plan of the orchestra, the Roman stage-front, and the position and arrangements of the seats: these were much disturbed, but enough remained in place to permit accurate restoration. The *parodos* walls, which, if continued, would meet in a straight line, characteristic of Roman theatres, were originally faced with marble blocks, of which the east wall preserved an impressive mass *in situ* (Fig. 1). A rounded torus-moulding near the base, similar to that of the theatre at Tegea, is a noteworthy feature, but more important is the fact that the east wall, as far as it has been traced, is inscribed with lists of magistrates and *cursus honorum*, apparently of the first half of the second century of our era. This has not all been cleared, but it is hoped to complete it, as well as the fuller uncovering of the stage-buildings, in a second campaign; already we may confidently claim it as one of the most extensive inscribed monuments of the Greek mainland, and its contents when fully revealed will add vastly to our knowledge of the prosopography and official organisation of Sparta under the Roman Empire.

On the Acropolis, besides tracing the line of the back of the *cavea*, important results were obtained, by the discovery of a walled area, probably a *peribolos*, adjoining the Chalkioikos sanctuary (excavated in 1907-8) and containing many interesting votives in bronze and pottery. Noteworthy are, a large Gorgoneion, and a lion's head and mane in repoussé bronze (both

⁷ In *B.S.A.* xxv. The chamber-tomb, however, in *Archaeologia*.

of the sixth century), a mirror inscribed with a dedication to Athens, and a small ivory gryphon-head (found just outside the enclosure); further west,



FIG. 1.—SPARTA. EAST PARODOS-WALL OF THEATRE.
(By kind permission of the British School at Athens.)



FIG. 2.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF ATHENA. (Scale 3:4).
(By kind permission of the British School at Athens.)

trial-trenches revealed a rich votive deposit, which yielded a beautiful little archaic bronze statuette of Athena in the Promachos attitude (Fig. 2), many lead figurines of the types familiar from the finds at the Orthia sanctuary

and Menelaion, and pottery of the Laconian II. style, as well as Geometric and Hellenistic. It remains to be seen if this implies the presence of another



FIG. 3.—BRONZE VOTIVE OBJECTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS, SPARTA. (Scale 1:2.)
(As first possession of the British School at Athens.)

sanctuary, or is merely debris thrown out from that of the Chalkiolkos above; hitherto, none of the inscribed votives proves to be dedicated to any deity but Athena. (Fig. 3 shows a selection of bronze objects from these two sites,

grouped together.) On the lower S.E. slopes of the Acropolis hill we located a mosaic pavement, with a Geometric pattern, in close proximity to an elaborate water-conduit, of Roman date, suggesting the presence of a bath-building; and on the low ground N. of the Acropolis a complex of walls, associated with interesting finds in Hellenistic pottery and terra-cottas, including a few pieces of moulds, seemed to point to a domestic and industrial area, including a pottery (?). No traces of substantial public buildings could be found in this region, and the two fragments of early Doric capitals found here, as well as a massive marble chair, with sculptured reliefs on three sides of horsemen crowned by Nikai, must have been brought from elsewhere; the last-named is a crude but spirited piece of Hellenistic work.

Mr. Casson followed up in 1922 his excavations at Chanchitsa in Macedonia,* finding in the cemetery, in addition to pottery of the types he had found previously, interesting bronze objects, including an amulet and some remarkable round pierced articles, apparently shield-bosses. On the Acropolis hill, below a Hellenic level (in which was a coin of Alexander the Great), was a thick stratum containing three of the principal varieties of early Macedonian wares, notably fine hand-made yellow ware with designs in violet matt paint.

In 1924 Mr. W. A. Hentley, Assistant-Director of the British School, excavated a prominent mound close to the ruined village of Vardino, in the Vardar valley, a few miles south of Karasouli; on this mound, which is actually the northernmost of those along the E. bank of the Vardar in Greek territory, clearly-marked strata revealed the following settlements, reckoning from the top downwards: (1) Hellenic (and later ?), with stone wall-foundations and miscellaneous coarse pottery, built on the debris of a thick burnt layer; (2) apparently sub-Mycenaean. Below the latter, a third stratum about 2.50 metres thick proved to contain the remains of two settlements, of which the upper was marked by stone foundations resting on clay floors, with traces of burnt beams, accompanied by finds which included a bronze fibula, bone pins, a schist mould, and many fragments of Late Helladic III. pottery: the lower yielded clay floors, and the foundations of an apsidal house, with pithoi *in situ*, and its pottery, also L.H. III., is of an earlier type, and with it were two sherds possibly of L.H. II. fabric. Nearly all the L.H. ware from these settlements seems of local manufacture: the coarse pottery included numerous fragments of bowls with the typical Macedonian triangular handle, and some incised ware; in metal there was a bronze spear-head.

Separated from (3) by an interval of about half a metre, which yielded very few sherds, is (4), which is about 1.50 m. thick, and goes down to virgin soil. It is characterised by very dark earth, and quite distinctive pottery, from which Mycenaean (L.H.) wares are totally lacking. The typical pottery is a fine hand-made ware of a fine highly-polished black with decoration in white matt paint, of parallel vertical lines or broad bands and loops; this continues throughout the stratum without interruption. Other classes, represented by thin deposits only, include a coarse but well-polished grey ware (wide bowls with incurved rims, painted with dull white lines), and a

* Cf. *H.S.A.* xxiii, pp. 29 ff.; xxiv, 1 ff.

fine, but lustreless; roughly-incised red ware, of shapes resembling Thessalian A1; of considerable interest was the presence of a little of the 'Dikili-tash' ware,⁹ with graphite technique, and of the head of a clay figurine of early Thessalian type. Analogies to other Thessalian styles of pottery were also noted, in addition to the typical Macedonian incised and white-filled ware. Mr. Heurtley hopes to follow up these important discoveries by excavating the large mound at Vardarovei next year.

At Knossos, where Sir Arthur Evans resumed his excavations in 1922, and continued them in 1923 and 1924,¹⁰ results of the highest importance have been obtained, bearing alike on the evolution of Minoan art, the architectural history of the Palace and its surroundings, and the foreign relations of its rulers. The central area of the Palace, sounded and re-examined at various points, revealed a late Neolithic house under the Central Court with fixed hearths, which yielded important remains of stone vessels of late pre-dynastic Egyptian types; from beneath the corridor with the Cup-bearer fresco came numerous remains of earlier fresco-decoration, which are identical in style and date with those of the 'Ladies in Blue' from the E. region of the Palace. From foundation remains and fallen blocks a stepped portico has been recognised, leading to wide steps (of which an imposing flight of twelve has now been reconstructed), giving access from the Central Court to the upper storey over the west region. Near the N. entrance the foundations of an outer bastion, an unsuspected early magazine, and important remains of M.M. III. and E.M. I. jars have been found; beneath the W. porch, an earlier entrance has been traced, and a warder's lodge, belonging to the later phase. On the south, two outlying houses, destroyed by falling blocks from the Palace walls above, yielded conclusive evidence, in the light of the date of the latest associated finds, that a great earthquake overthrew this part of the Palace in M.M. III. times, and this in turn explains some of the collapsed masonry noted elsewhere. Below these houses were remains of earlier dwellings, which yielded strikingly fine ceramic relics of M.M. II. date. As a result of fuller study, it has now been possible to reconstruct, with most impressive effect, a considerable portion of the South House, giving a sectional view. Beneath the S.E. angle, a deep circular vault, excavated to a depth of 30 feet into the virgin ground, which seemed at first suggestive of a great lair for a beast, with a small cave issuing from it, is now regarded as having been a quarry, dug in E.M. III. times for red earth of a type required by both builders and potters. From the S.W. region came (in 1923) a striking hoard of bronze vessels, in excellent preservation, some of which are of shapes hitherto unknown, and several are of interest as prototypes of ceramic forms; mention must also be made of a cornelian gem which shows the Mother Goddess as 'Lady of the Under-World,' holding a sprinkler and a sword, with snakes ascending from her skirts, and a stone vase of the shape of the Vaphio

⁹ Cf. *B.S.A.* xxiii. pp. 44 ff.; *B.C.H.* xlii. p. 527 f.

¹⁰ For 1922, *Antiquaries' Journal*, II. (1922), pp. 319-329; for 1923, *Times*,

August 28th and 29th, 1923; for 1924, *Times*, June 11th, October 16th and 17th, 1924.

cups. From beneath the 'Shrine of the Double Axes,' which belongs to the period of Reoccupation, were brought to light remains of ritual furnishings from a much earlier shrine (M.M. III. and L.M. I.).

Nevertheless, it was not the Palace itself, but an outlying house, of undistinguished scale, which produced the most remarkable find. Just south of the Minoan paved way midway from the Theatral Area to the modern road, trials revealed a house of early L.M. I. date, which proved to contain a vast quantity of fallen fresco fragments.¹¹ These luckily had escaped burning, and many of the colours were as fresh as when they were painted on the walls. Space does not permit more than a brief summary here, but one cannot pass over some of the more prominent aspects of this great find. The range of subjects, in the first place, includes marine scenes (though fish are absent), blue birds, baboons—of a recognisable type, indigenous to the Soudan!—blossoming amid papyrus thickets, formal groups of crocus, sprays of wild-pea and briar-rose, and in all perhaps a score of plant-forms, on backgrounds of buff, or white, or light blue, or Pompeian red, or again on mottled backgrounds with these colours—and many more—running into each other in fantastic landscapes or rockscapes. In the treatment one notes, above all, the blend of careful naturalism, manifested in the accurate observation and appreciation of plant-forms, with exuberant fancy in their setting; the appreciation of their decorative values, the purity and range of the colouring, and the striking sureness of the drawing. We can now realise in full the zenith of the Minoan fresco-painter's art at the beginning of the Palace Period, and understand the source of inspiration for the floral motives on the finest L.M. I. vases.

To a slightly later date (L.M. IIb) belong the sadly scanty remains of a scene on a smaller scale, where a Minoan captain (with flesh naturally painted in red) leads a following of spearmen whose flesh is shown black. It seems indisputable that we should regard this, as Sir Arthur Evans suggests, as proof of the use of negro troops by the lords of Knossos. Nor must we pass over the discovery, in the same house, of many fragments of wall-plaster, painted with characters in the 'advanced linear' class of script, of which two groups, on a large scale, are in orange paint on buff, and the others on a smaller scale are in dark paint on a ground of pale red. A further—and even more unexpected—find of frescoes is described below. The same area yielded also a limestone sacral bowl, with eighteen characters of the same class incised on it, and a magnificent ewer of L.M. I. date, with the Double Axe as its chief decorative motive. And all this from a small villa in the town!

The principal discovery of 1924 was made in following up the southward approach to the Palace across the steep-sided ravine which flows past it on the south. Already in the previous year, on the north side of this ravine, the substructures had been found of a step-way, which further explorations have shown to belong to a magnificent portico, leading up to the south entrance of the Palace; and in seeking for its continuation across the stream, the excavator discovered, encrusted in what looked like natural rock, but

¹¹ I had the privilege of examining these shortly after they had been discovered. (Note (which filled more than eighty trays)!

proved to be alluvial deposit petrified by gypsum springs, 'the Cyclopean piers of a Minoan viaduct.' This runs obliquely to the ravine, but the actual bridge over the torrent-bed had been destroyed. This massive structure dates from L.M. I. times, and is clearly the abutment of the great south road across the island. A few yards further along the road there was found 'what seems to be a Caravanserai,' of which the central element is an elegant little pavilion, and on its walls remains of fresco are still visible; on a white ground pillars in yellow, to suggest timber, support a frieze about fifteen inches high, very delicately executed, with motives of decorative plants and birds (partridges and hoopees, most faithfully rendered, in a much finer and more 'miniature'



FIG. 4.—THE VIADUCT AT KNOSSOS.
(The kind permission of Mr Arthur Evans.)

technique than the fresco-finds of 1923), which runs round three sides of the room (Fig. 5): this is open on the fourth (N.) side with a verandah approached by steps. In the next room are arrangements for washing the feet, and a passage leads to a little underground chamber, with a fountain, a basin, stone benches, ledges for stone lamps and a niche. In the latest Minoan age the basin had become choked, and the chamber had become the scene of a cult; masses of vessels of offering and censers, coming down in date to the earliest Hellenic epoch, were piled within it. Then it was finally sealed by natural incrustation, and so remained till discovered. The full extent of the 'Caravanserai' has not yet been traced, but it had a frontage towards the road of over 30 metres. The course of this road across the island has been traced at intervals, crossing the north col. of Juktas, and heading for

the south coast, with its paved and terraced causeway well preserved at several points. From one—or more—of the Minoan harbours identified on the south coast, contact with Egypt and North Africa was long maintained, thus avoiding the perilous circumnavigation of the eastern half of the island. Local communications were doubtless kept up, by way of the harbour-town near the mouth of the Kairatos, for clay sealings have been found there, which afford proof of relationship with E. Crete, notably by their resemblance to some of those from Zakro, and by their clay, which is akin to that of early vases from Vasiliki.

An unexpected Minoan site was identified at Arkhanes, where, underneath part of the picturesque and prosperous modern village, remains of a palatial structure with gypsum orthostat blocks have been recognised by Sir Arthur Evans, and an impressive circular stone-built reservoir of L.M. I. date, with an average internal diameter of about 16 feet, has been examined and planned.¹²

FRENCH SCHOOL

The numerous fields of excavation and study in which the French School was engaged in 1922-23, and the results there obtained, are so fully described in the account which is published in the *Bulletin*,¹³ that we need not do more than call attention here to the most important of them. At Delphi, some further excavation has taken place at the Marnaria sanctuary, and west of the *Hieron* itself, and much supplementary study has been devoted to the monuments in the *Hieron*. At the first-named site, in 1922, M. Demangel discovered, to the east of the small temple in *poros*, the remains of a cult-centre which dates from pre-Hellenic times. Small objects in steatite and faience, shells and, among ceramic remains, typical pithos fragments, attest Aegean elements; for the Mycenaean period numerous terra-cotta figurines, of female type, of which thirty were found lying together on a large block of stone, presumably an altar; and for the Geometric period, the finds of typical bronze pins prove the continuity of the cult, which the discoverer interprets as that of the Earth Mother, replaced here at a later date by that of Athena. Fuller study of the second *poros* temple has revealed elements re-used from an earlier building, and from the later one sculptured fragments from the pediments and a geison-block have been identified. In clearing the E. terrace-wall of the row of Treasuries, previously regarded as *Heroa*, new fragments have been found of the interesting inscriptions relating to the lease of sacred ground,¹⁴ and to the north the retaining-wall of an early road has been partly cleared. In 1923 attention was chiefly given to the *Tholos*, under which the foundations of an earlier building, differently orientated, were revealed, and valuable progress was made towards a final reconstruction of the later *Tholos* itself. It has proved possible to identify, and replace correctly, ten fallen blocks of the outer wall, to confirm definitely the existence (denied by Pontow) of an inner Corinthian colonnade of ten columns, from which pieces

¹² *Antiquaries' Journal*, II. (1922), p. 319 f.

¹³ Cf. above, note 1.

¹⁴ Cf. *B.C.H.* xxv. (1901), pp. 105 ff.

of seven capitals have been recognised, and finally to conclude with much probability that the edifice had a roof of wooden construction only, carried by the architrave of the inner colonnade and the outer wall at a corresponding level. The theory of a central altar is quite inconsistent with the working of the newly identified paving-blocks. In this connexion we may note that Professor Dinsmoor has re-examined the supposed 'double-palmette' capital reconstructed by Pomtow, and shows conclusively that it should actually have a single palmette only; he suggests the name of Aeolic for this interesting type.¹²

In the *Hieron* proper, the existence of an inner Ionic order in the temple of Apollo is now denied on reconsideration. The remains of an earlier *Tholos*



FIG. 5.—FRIEND OF BIRDS AND PLANTS, KNOSSES.
(My 1904 presentation of Sir Arthur Evans.)

found under the Sikyonian Treasury have been again studied, and a more convincing reconstruction is now established; the Treasury itself is still an insoluble architectural enigma. The Athenian Treasury has also received much attention: the terraces to S. and E. of it prove to be contemporary with it, the latter resting on an earlier *poros* terrace, on which stood the earlier building whose traces exist under the cella of the existing Treasury. Its sculptured decoration forms the subject of an admirable and convincing paper by M. P. de la Coste Messalière,¹³ who has added many new fragments to the metopes already known, and recognised several others as coming from metopes of which no fragment had as yet been identified. By a minute study of structural detail, e.g. in the style of the dressing of the various alais below, he establishes a more certain and logical order of arrangement for the original position on the building of the metopes on the E., S. and W. sides. Ten fragments of larger scale he attributes to the pediment, which has cuttings on its bed to receive sculptured decoration. The disputed Amazon figures, which he increases to three by the aid of newly identified pieces, cannot, in his opinion, have stood as *acrotéria* on the roof, in view of their excessive weight, but he does not definitely locate them, beyond pointing out that

¹² *B.J.A.* xxvii. pp. 164-173.

¹³ *B.C.H.* xlvii. pp. 387 ff.

their marble and style seem to prove their connexion with the Treasury, and that the foreshortening of the treatment indicates that they must have stood high above the ground-level, to be seen only from below. His researches lead him to assert confidently that the style of these sculptures demands a date after 490—whether or no the building itself may have been begun before that date. A similar conclusion is arrived at by W. R. Agard,¹⁷ writing before the publication of the French scholar's paper; these conclusions certainly simplify the question of the inscription on the plinth, which thus after all belongs to the building of the Treasury itself. M. Replat, we may note, has recently raised objections, on the ground of the uneven spacing of the letters involved by it, to the usual restoration of the text of this inscription, but without suggesting an alternative.

The important discovery of a massive outer portico, and staircase connected with it, west of the *Hieron*, was made in 1922 and followed up in 1923. Its inner order was Ionic, and the outer colonnade had its columns spaced at double the interval of the inner ones; it had an upper storey, communicating at the N.E. with a road leading directly to the theatre. Many important inscriptions came from this region, including a long fragment of accounts, from 337 B.C., giving several new names of *Hieromnemones*, a base with the names of two sculptors from Salamis, Kallikles and Hestaios, and a proxeny-decree, of Hellenistic date, for a citizen of Cassandreia. Outside the newly discovered portico and buried below a complex of Roman walls appeared a *temenos*, of good polygonal masonry, containing two small early (twin?) shrines, and a *fanasa* going back to the archaic period. Most of the pottery recovered from the latter is good Corinthian ware, from over 200 vases, and an inscribed sherd gives the clue to the identity of the cult, for it bears the name of Hermes; moreover, a piece of a relief of Greek workmanship shows Hermes associated with a radiate Apollo-Helios. This then would seem beyond any doubt to be the precinct of Hermes, which we know to have been situated outside the main sanctuary.

Similarly at Delos, the revision of previous conclusions has gone hand in hand with new exploration.¹⁸ In the neighbourhood of the Artemision a curious structure of semicircular form not far from the archaic temple of Artemis (an admittedly uncertain identification) is regarded as the site of one of the tombs of the two Hyperborean maidens (cf. Herodotus, iv, 34-5), and close to it was found the torso of an archaic Siren, the head of an early male figure, and, as evidence of a much earlier element in this area, a number of Cycladic, Mycenaean and Geometric sherds, together with votive spindles. The sanctuary of Artemis Eileithyia, located and excavated on the east slope of Mt. Kynthos, is now fully described by M. Demangel,¹⁹ the chief relics of the cult, which seems to have lasted from the fifth century to Graeco-Roman days, being a series of reliefs; a complete example shows two young votaries with their three children about to sacrifice a goat to the goddess; the ritual seems also to have included a torchlight procession along the slopes of the

¹⁷ *A.J.A.* xvii, pp. 174 ff.

ibid. 1923, p. 238.

¹⁸ *B.C.H.* xlvii, pp. 325 ff.; *C.R. Acad.*

¹⁹ *B.C.H.* xlvii, pp. 38-93.

mountain. It is impossible to mention all the different regions of the site explored during the last two years, but the discovery of a temple with an interesting archaic plan (axial colonnade), enclosed in a *peribolos* wall (not far from the Gymnasium and the supposed site of the Hippodrome), and the location of the angle of another archaic structure on a terrace adjacent to the Inopos (possibly the Herakleion) must not be passed over; and a fine Hellenistic house with granite columns faced with blue stucco adorning its peristyle is the most interesting recent find in the sphere of domestic architecture in Delos.

Perhaps even more important are the French discoveries in Thasos, which had started with considerable promise in 1914. The theatre, with its curiously asymmetric plan, has been partly uncovered, as well as an important portion of the *Agora*, with porticoes on the S. and N.E.; moreover, besides the clearance of the S.W. portico in 1923 as far as the south angle, further research has shown that nearly opposite the supposed *Lexeis* or *Bouleuterion* is a monumental entrance-way, with two Ionic columns *in antis*, which proves to be contemporary with the west portico, dating thus from the first century B.C. At the S. angle an archaic structure with *poros* walls, later strengthened with other material, will perhaps prove to be the *Metreon*. From this region come many important inscriptions, notably three texts engraved on one orthostat block; two of these are of late fifth-century date, and deal with conditions for the sale of wine; the other is of Imperial times, and specifies the registration-charges for various acts of sale or lease. At the N.E. angle fragments of architrave and column-drum permit the original dimensions of the order to be calculated, and a line of bases running off obliquely is now explained by the discovery, in this corner of the *Agora*, of the *temenos* of Zeus *Agoraios*; still further north they have located another shrine, adjoining which is the inscribed base of a bronze statue dedicated to Zeus *Kataibates*; the presence of another gateway on this side of the *Agora* was suspected, but not yet confirmed in 1923. Considerable interest attaches also to the discovery, on sloping ground S. of the theatre, of the precinct identified by two inscriptions as a *Dionysion*. In this has been found an important choragic monument, standing on a stepped plinth and approached on the south by seven steps, on which side it seems to have been open to the air, and adorned with a row of four columns. Its date seems to be the early third century B.C., and it is possibly an imitation of the style of the choragic monument of Nikias at Athens. At the inner end of the building was a large semicircular base, of which part was found *in situ*; on its blocks are inscribed the names of Dionysos, Tragedy, Comedy, Dithyramb and Nykterinos, the last four coupled with the names of the following actors respectively: Theodoros, Philemon, Ariaton of Miletus, flute-player, and Batislos, flute-player. Moreover, above them stood five statues, to correspond; of these the head, larger than life, of Dionysos was found, in perfect preservation—of a juvenile type, long-haired and delicate-featured. Of Comedy the headless statue was found, otherwise complete; of Tragedy, only a fine mask, representing an old man, who by his blind eyes may be Oedipus or Teiresias. A possible head for Nykterinos, on a smaller

scale than the others, completes the list of statuary found. The last-named is interpreted as the personification of a nocturnal serenade of the god, in which flutes were employed. The shape of the base leaves no doubt that another group of statues, for which no inscriptions have been found, stood alongside the five mentioned; these may have been either of the choragus and his assistants, or possibly of legendary heroes. In any case the unusual interest of the discovery need not be further emphasised. Other interesting results include the finding of two altars on the left of the approach to the monument just described; on one is inscribed, in fourth-century lettering, a dedication to Agathos Daimon and Agathe Tyche. Both seem definitely earlier than the monument. The line of the city-wall between the closed harbour and the Acropolis has been carefully determined, and a terrace overlooking the sea-front located; and a quite unsuspected gate appeared, only 2-10 m. wide, bearing a relief, unluckily much damaged, which represents four persons; it is possible to recognise in it a scene of Hermes Psychopompos accompanying a woman, and one of the other figures is probably Herakles or Dionysos. Close to another gate, near the sea, was found the base of a statue to Soteira, and near the Dionysion above mentioned was the base of a statue to Pan, bearing an elegiac distich. The colossal statue of Apollo Kriophoros, found a few years ago on the Acropolis, has now been re-erected near the Museum.²⁰ The first instalment of a final publication of the discoveries at Thasos was announced to appear in 1924.

Less space can be devoted to the results of the latest campaigns at Philippi. At the theatre, further progress has been made, and valuable data have been obtained for a restoration. The orchestra was surrounded with a balustrade, and an arched passage at the N.W. *Parodos* has been recognised from vousoir-blocks found on the spot; one of them, presumably the keystone, is carved with a bucranium on one side and a figure of Nemesis on the other; the same deity, it may be noted, was associated with the west *Parodos* of the theatre at Thasos. On the jambs are reliefs and inscriptions relating to the dedication of these sculptures, one of which again represents Nemesis, the other a winged Nike, by a certain M. Velleius Zosimus, 'priest of the Invincible,' in the name of the 'Society of Friends of the Chase.' Many marble fragments permit the restoration of the plan of the '*Scenae Frons*.' In the Agora, of which the site is rendered probable by the discovery of various porticoes of Roman Age construction, a Latin dedication, *Mercurio Sacrum*, indicates the presence in this region of a temple of that deity. Some of the numerous sanctuaries located in the town have already been recorded in the last report, but since its publication the interesting shrine of Silvanus, partly constructed in an ancient quarry, and with a *sacellum* in which are three niches, has come to light; it served as the meeting-place for a college of *Sodales*. Finally, mention must be made of the exceptionally interesting early Basilica to the north of the site, which presents certain unique structural features.²¹

On the Gallipoli peninsula, where the military occupation permitted the fuller exploration of the cemetery of Elaious, first located in 1915, under fire,

²⁰ *B.C.H.* xlvii, p. 539, Fig. 16.

²¹ *Op. cit.* xlv, p. 530 f.

by the French contingent, this rich site has been extensively cleared.²² Over 250 interments either in sarcophagi or clay pithoi, in about equal numbers, have been found, many of them with interesting ceramic contents, and belonging to the period from the late sixth to the late fourth century. Close to this site, the prominent mound, known as the 'Tomb of Protesilaus,' has been also excavated. It has revealed the remains of four successive settlements, of which the earliest is stated, in view of its finds, to be earlier than Hisarlik I., and the latest to be contemporary with Hisarlik II. At the lowest level were found a stone-built hearth and a rectangular structure, presumably a house. There was no sign of any interment to justify the traditional name of the site. There was a complete absence of Mycenaean or post-Mycenaean wares of any sort.

In Crete, the important site of Mallia has been further excavated, in 1922, by M. J. Hatzidakis, aided by M. L. Renaudin, Secretary of the French School, and in 1923 by the latter only. In the former campaign the west and north façades of the Palace were traced, and in 1923 the western region was fully cleared. The main feature of the plan is seen to be a row of long corridors leading from entrances on the west to join a long and wide central corridor running north and south; on to the latter open on one side the doors of the magazines and on the other the 'royal' apartments. These apartments, situated in the S. region of the Palace, were of large size, with floors either paved or stuccoed and lit by light-wells, with their walls built mostly of regularly laid courses of 'amouda' (marine conglomerate). The magazines were of slighter construction, some being merely formed by thin partitions of sun-dried brick; in the south region some of the smaller rooms are of this material on a base of conglomerate. To the north, some use is made of a hard blue limestone, and in this area a paved court, with a single column-base, was also cleared. The Palace had, it appears, been sacked and burnt, to judge by the thick layer of ashes found, by the empty magazines and the general evidence of destruction. The finds of pottery, including typical 'Vasiliki' ware, show that the Palace dates back to Early Minoan times; most abundant are the polychrome 'Kamires' sherds, found frequently in association with pieces showing spiraliform ornament. But the most interesting of all the finds came from a spot near the N.W. angle of the Palace, where in 1922 a small sanctuary, resembling the so-called 'Queen's Bathroom' at Knossos, was uncovered. Close to this another shrine appeared in 1923, of very primitive form, with but one entrance. In it at the foot of a shapeless Bactyl, erected on a base of conglomerate, a rich series of votive offerings in terracotta came to light, including coarse vases of Early Minoan date; one of these, but of less coarse style, bears an incised inscription, and not far away a group of well-preserved tablets, inscribed in the earlier linear script, calls for special mention. Other associated finds include a clay medallion with a figure of an animal on one side and an inscription on the other, and several unusual types of clay sealings. Here was, in fact, a primitive sanctuary,

²² *Op. cit.* xxxix, pp. 135-240; xlii, p. 340 f.

with the lustral area adjoining it, which thus gives us valuable new evidence for the early phases of Minoan religion.

The excavations at Notion, described in the last report, could not be resumed in 1922 or 1923, but a full account is now published (*B.C.H.* xlvii. pp. 353 ff.).

Two other enterprises undertaken by other nations under the auspices of the French School remain to be mentioned. The former, directed by M. A. Salac, is the Czechoslovak expedition to Samothrace, which, in the autumn of 1923, achieved important results, full of promise for the future. Several important structures were located, which had not been seen by the original Austrian mission under Bennndorf, including a building which was perhaps the *Telesterion*, close to where the Nike originally stood, and the foundations of another massive structure, measuring 17×14.35 m., with the same orientation as the great temple.³³

The latter undertaking is the exploration of the site of Asine on the coast of Argolis, by the Swedish mission under Professor Axel Persson, of the University of Lund, which has conducted campaigns on this picturesque and interesting site in the autumn of 1922 and the early summer of 1924.³⁴ On the rocky Acropolis itself, surrounded on three sides by the sea, there is no great depth of soil, but careful digging has brought to light remains of several periods. Early Helladic houses and a *bothron*, Middle Helladic interments and very slight remains of the Late Helladic (Mycenaean) period have been found; but walls of the Geometric period, accompanied by typical pottery, and a large deposit of archaic terra-cotta figurines, doubtless from a sanctuary, continue the story of the occupation. The massive Hellenic gateway, with one of its towers standing to a height of fifteen courses, was further examined, and a small Roman bath-house found adjacent. On the flat ground, forming the base of the headland, extensive house-remains of Middle Helladic date were partly cleared in the second campaign; one of them is rectangular, another apsidal. No traces appeared here of any later occupation prior to Hellenistic. Two important cemeteries were located, one of Late Helladic date on the east and one of Geometric date on the west slope of the low hill called Barbuna, which runs inland from near the base of the headland. The first of the former tombs to be cleared yielded a series of interments, of which the earliest was accompanied by a rich collection of vases, and gold ornaments, as well as four gems of Cretan origin, and on a gold ring was a typical Minoan scene of a treader swinging himself over the head of a charging bull. The latest interment in this tomb (which like the others is of chamber-type) was of Geometric date, and accompanied by numerous characteristic vases. The Geometric cemetery on the west slope consists of several hundred graves, but only one has so far been cleared; it proved to contain a large number of 'Argive Geometric' vases. Clearly the full exploration of this site will involve

³³ *Op. cit.* xlvii. p. 340 f.

³⁴ Cf. *B.C.H.* xlvii. pp. 400 ff.; *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1922-23, pp. 25-42. For oral information

concerning the discoveries of 1924 I am indebted to Professor Persson and Dr. E. Kjellberg.

many more campaigns, and if it should lead to the foundation of a Swedish School in Athens, satisfaction will be general.

GERMAN SCHOOL

Dr. E. Buschor's investigations concerning the earliest sanctuaries on the Acropolis, and his allocation to them of the various pediment sculptures in *poros*, which in some cases confirm and in others modify the conclusions of Heberdey (*Porosskulptur*), are of the utmost importance.²⁵ His arguments and their results need not be re-stated here, but we may note in passing his reconstruction of the 'Olive-tree' pediment, which he interprets as the 'Ambuscade of Achilles' at the spring (the central building being a fountain-house), and his suggested 'Hekatompedon,' an early forerunner of the Parthenon, with the earliest *poros* lioness as its pedimental decoration.²⁶

Dr. G. Welter-Mauve's researches into the history and form of the Nike *temenos* have given valuable results, of which only a brief summary is as yet available. The earlier level was found at a depth of 1-10 m. below the 'Classical'; its oblique N. wall proves to be definitely earlier than the foundations of Mnesicles' Propylaea, and may date back to the sixth century, forming part of the original bastion. Close to it stood a rectangular statue-base, and under the site of the later altar an earlier one, of *poros*. The raising of the level and changed orientation of the later bastion are thus later in date than Mnesicles' Propylaea.

At the theatre of Dionysos, Drs. H. Bulle and K. Lehmann-Hartleben have reached certain interesting conclusions, as a result of fresh trial-trenching. The remains of an older theatre, with its seats in straight lines, have been identified, and the relations of the level of the 'Hohlraum' cleared up; their verdict that the *Proskenion* does not belong to the Lycurgan theatre calls for particular note. At the Olympieum,²⁷ we are likewise indebted to the careful observation of Dr. Welter-Mauve for valuable and convincing conclusions as to the Pessistratid Temple, and the small structure which had preceded it on the site. That it was abandoned, with only the lowest drums of its columns in position, presumably at the expulsion of Hippias, seems to prove that it was only begun during his tyranny and not under his father's; and thus we may see political and religious motives, as well as that of expense, underlying its abandonment. The interesting suggestion that some of the capitals which in style are distinct alike from those erected by Antiochus and by Hadrian were erected in the reign of Augustus (cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* c. 60) adds another to the many princes who have left their mark on the structure.

The resumption in 1924 of work at the Aphrodite temple near the modern town of Aegina, under the leadership of Professor Paul Wolters, is most gratifying, alike on archaeological grounds and as a tribute to the memory of

²⁵ *Ath. Mit.* xivii. 1922 (publ. July 1924), pp. 81 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff. (cf. Heberdey, *op. cit.* p. 77.)

²⁷ *Ath. Mit.* xivii. pp. 61 ff. Cf. *Fest's* *Work*, 1922-23, p. 80 (based on *Konstachronik*, 1923 (Buschor), and *B.C.H.* xvi. pp. 487 ff.).

Furtwaengler, who had begun the task before his death in 1907.²² The munificence of Dr. James Loeb has alone rendered the resumption possible. On the east slope of the hill, on which are the remains of the temple, prehistoric houses had been found by the late Dr. Stais, who excavated there in 1894. These have been more fully cleared, and a massive Palace, whose outer walls are 3.80 m. thick, and are strengthened with bastions, has been laid bare; the walls stand in places to a height of more than two metres. The pottery associated with this building was plentiful, and consisted mostly of characteristic 'Aeginetan' ware, with linear ornament in matt paint, but a few imported Kamares pieces also turned up. A still earlier settlement of smaller, isolated houses, lying further west, yielded both monochrome ware and some with incised ornament. This region has not yet been fully cleared, but a well-preserved doorway has been found, and the walls, which show many signs of rebuilding and extension, are in one place five metres high. The site of the Palace was occupied after its destruction by a settlement which can be safely dated by its late Mycenaean pottery.

The remains of the Classical period were much disturbed as a result of previous excavations, but a well-preserved area enabled a clear dating to be obtained for a group of houses alongside a roadway; Dr. Stais had here cleared an interesting house, which proves now to be of sixth, and not as he thought of seventh-century date. To the period earlier than its construction belonged the remains of a bronze-foundry, from which came a mould for casting a small vessel of proto-Corinthian type. During the remodelling of these houses—still in the sixth century—numerous fine sherds had been thrown out, both of proto-Corinthian and Corinthian styles, and they seem to belong to debris from the Temple of Aphrodite which preceded that of which elements are still standing. For this earlier temple there is further evidence in the shape of a fine semi-circular *acrotérion*, in terra-cotta, of proto-Corinthian style; and that the cult goes back still earlier is proved by the presence of Geometric pottery, many pieces being found in 1924 in addition to the series of votive cups found by Stais in 1894. From this region came many interesting indications for the early trade relations of Aegina, including finds of Naucratis faience, scarabs, 'Rhodian' pottery and terra-cottas; and plentiful finds of Cypriote ware point to the source of the Aeginetan bronze supply. The temple itself, now known as dedicated to Aphrodite Epilimene, must be dated slightly before that of Aphaia, and not about 460, as Furtwaengler had suggested on the evidence of the well-known Sphinx which he found there. This date is established by the discovery of well-preserved capitals; moreover, the finding of the torso of a second Sphinx, of Roman date, suggests that this creature had a long-continued and intimate association with the ritual of the temple, and that thus the earlier figure was not an *acrotérion*. Of the architectural details of the temple enough is now known for a restoration to be worked out, but of its possible sculptural decoration the remains are very fragmentary. To the south of it was situated a

²² I am particularly indebted to Professor Paul Wolters for the loan of an advance copy of his interim report.

small *propylon*, which was widened to admit wheeled traffic, late in Classical times, when the whole precinct was made into a fortress; of this structure some massive portions have survived, in one place the wall being five metres high. In it are built many elements of earlier buildings, notably certain blocks bearing a series of honorary inscriptions of the Imperial age, relating to 'Damothoiniai.'

At Olympia, Professor Doerpfeld with Dr. Buschor's aid has again explored the Heraeum, and its antecedent structures, with the following conclusions²⁰: the earliest temple on the site, occupying the position of the *cella* of the existing building, is to be dated to the beginning of the Orientalising period, and was a shrine in *antis*, with *opisthodomos*, built of mud-brick on a rough stone foundation; this was burnt down and replaced by a structure with wooden columns; and this in turn was succeeded by the present one, built on an artificially raised level, and retaining the tradition of wooden columns, in the seventh century. The small objects found during this work are now briefly published²¹ (but not illustrated), and their chief interest lies in the careful classification of the different types of local ware which belong to the period between the end of typical Mycenaean (of which no single piece was found) and the beginning of Orientalising imports.

In Naxos, in 1923, Dr. Welter-Mauve exploring the vicinity of the well-known ancient doorway still standing on the peninsula of Palati, found that it belonged to the *opisthodomos* of an archaic Ionic temple 35 x 14 m. in dimensions—in fact an Hekatompedon—with a 'Vorhalle,' an almost square *cella*, *opisthodomos* and 'Hinterhalle'; this had been left unfinished (on the fall of the tyranny?) and an early Christian Basilica came to occupy the spot, apparently deserted in the interval.²² Near the Metropolis Church part of a *stoa* was uncovered, apparently belonging to the Greek *Agora*. In Paros the same scholar has recognised the remains of an archaic structure (late sixth century) re-used as building material in the mediæval wall; certain decorative elements resemble those of the 'Siphnian' Treasury at Delphi, and the scale approximates to that of the Naxos temple.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

Athens and Attica.—The long-discussed re-erection of the north colonnade of the Parthenon, under the expert supervision of Dr. N. Balanos, is proceeding slowly but methodically; naturally the massive scaffolding prevents us from getting a general impression of the effect of the work as far as it has gone, and clearly many years must elapse before the available material is all set up.²³ Interesting observations of minute refinements, which had escaped

²⁰ Cf. *Year's Work*, 1922-23, p. 94 (and *Konstantinika*, 1923; *B.C.H.* xlv. p. 504 f.).

²¹ *Ark. Mit.* xvii. pp. 48 ff.

²² Communicated; cf. *B.C.H.* xvii. p. 529.

²³ *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 490 f.; xvi. p. 485 f.; xvii. p. 506 f. The use of concrete in a

column now completed, to replace one of the missing drums, may evoke criticism. One of the wooden tenons on which the column-drums were adjusted was found *in situ*. I was by chance present at the moment of the discovery; the wood was in fair preservation.

even the eagle eye of Penrose, have been made by Dr. Balanos in the course of the work; in particular, the method of adjusting the architrave to the abacus-blocks in view of the inward inclination (-007 m.) of the column-axis. Another discovery of importance is the identification of certain blocks of Pentellic marble which belonged to the base of the cult-statue; some of these had been re-used, and bore curved cuttings, suggesting that they had been built into the apse of the church into which the Parthenon was converted. One, however, was found exactly to fit a rectangular cutting in the tufa blocks of the *cella* floor, which have always been held to mark the position of the statue.²⁹

Of recent years few discoveries in Greek lands have equalled in importance, for the student of Greek sculpture, the archaic bases with reliefs, found in the Themistoclean wall close to the Dipylon. As they have been already published in this Journal, there is no need to repeat a description of them, but we may note various interesting suggestions concerning their interpretation and original position.³¹ It is to be feared that the defaced inscription on the third base, on which the signature of Endaios is still decipherable, is beyond hope of restoration. During 1923 another accidental find of interest was made south of the Ilissus; this comprised two reliefs, on one of which Zeus appears crowning a priest, and on the other, which is from the top of an inscribed stele, is Hermes, with traces of a companion figure, possibly Iolaos.³² At Eleusis, further work has been done by Dr. K. Kouromiotis, who has cleared the surface of the paving outside the Great Propylaea, proving it to extend further than had been anticipated, and has thus linked it up with the end of the Sacred Way. During other trial excavations he found, to the N.E. of the *stoa* of Philo, a tomb with Mycenaean pottery of the latest style. Mention must be made of a handy and popular Guide to Eleusis, published in 1924, from the pen of the same scholar, who is now Director of the National Museum in Athens.

At Sunium, Dr. G. P. Oikonomos, who succeeded to the charge of the Numismatic Museum on the lamented death of Dr. J. N. Svoronos, has followed up the admirable work of Dr. V. Stais, whose death in 1923 was another great loss to Greek archaeology.³³ In the fortress outside the temple he has found an altar inscribed to Apollo, and a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically; he has also explored the galley-houses, and on the low ground near the ancient harbour has found the remains of a large building of Classical date, with sides about 50 metres long; beyond the fact that it originally had a superstructure of local marble, on a rough foundation, little can be said about its character or purpose.

Dr. B. Leonardos has again continued his patient researches at the Amphiarion near Oropus, mostly on the S. bank of the stream, in the domestic quarter, where he noted that the remains of Hellenic date were unexpectedly deep below the Roman level.³⁷ Dr. A. Keramopoulos continued his explora-

²⁹ *Op. cit.* xviii, p. 307.

³¹ *J.H.S.* xlii, pp. 104 ff.; *B.C.H.* xlv.
pp. 1-35 (and bibliography, *ibid.*, p. 489,
note 5).

³² *B.C.H.* xlvii, p. 505.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 510.

³⁷ *Ep. Arch.* 1922, pp. 101 ff. (published
in 1923).

tions at Thebes in 1922, but not in 1923, and in clearing the region of the House of Cadmus, in which he had found the inscribed Bugelkanna in 1921, concluded that the apartments which he found to be connected by a corridor with the Megaron were the women's quarters. At Coronea, Dr. N. Pappadakis has made an interesting discovery on the E. slope of the Acropolis, namely, a large building which seems to him to be the remains of a Roman *stoa*. A headless male statue, over life-size, is apparently Hadrian with the belt of Ares, and bases bearing inscriptions in honour of Carus, Valentinian and Arcadius afford valuable data for the later history of the site.²⁸ The same scholar has also followed up his valuable discovery of the 'Pyre of Herakles' on Mount Oeta, and found many more small objects, especially in metal, including a series of votive eyes, feet, etc., in bronze, and much jewellery, including a Geometric fibula, and many bracelets and rings.

In Thessaly, Dr. A. Arvanitopoulos has again excavated at the rich and important site of the Temple of Zeus Thaulios, near Velesino, increasing the already impressive number of small objects found. Until publication it is impossible to form a general idea of their importance, but we must note the presence of inscribed bronze plaques and phials, of gold and silver ornaments of Orientalising date, of terra-cotta statuettes, and (it seems) of fragments from *Korai* of almost life-size in this material. Particular interest attaches to the carved ivories, among which certain seals and couchant beasts remind one strongly of those from Sparta. The only other discovery of note from Thessaly is that of a most important early Basilica, at New Anchialos, the site of the Ancient Pyrasos; here Dr. G. Sotiriou has cleared and planned this church, which has three naves, and measures 52 x 26 m., finding many sculptured and architectural fragments from it. In this connexion we have to note the widespread activity of both Dr. Sotiriou and Dr. A. Orlandos in the matter of studying and preserving Byzantine churches at various places in Greece. The latter has restored the sixth-century Basilica at Kalabaka in Thessaly, and has protected with a new outer dome the main dome of the well-known monastery church of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, which was leaking seriously; in the Peloponnese his studies include churches at Stymphalia, Loukou, Tegen, and Gastouni in Elis. And at Sparta, Dr. A. Adamantiou has partly cleared a large church on the Acropolis, which he identifies with that of St. Nikon.

Other discoveries in the Peloponnese include a Mycenaean cemetery at Agraifdia near Patras, where Dr. K. Kyprasis followed up an accidental find; the tombs resembled the chamber-tombs of Cephallenia, but were much destroyed. Two untouched interments yielded, however, about fifty vases of the latest Mycenaean style. Moreover, in Cephallenia itself he has found two more chamber-tombs near Palaikastro. At Gythion, an accidental discovery near the theatre has resulted in the uncovering of an important building, which is apparently the Temple of Augustus (and Tiberius?). Adjacent to it was found a long inscription concerning the cult of the Emperors, and

²⁸ *B.C.H.* xlvii. p. 52) f.

making mention of a procession from the sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia to the *Kaisapeion*. In the temple was found the statue of a young man, to whose identity a probable clue is given by an adjacent base, which records that Euryelos, son of Lachares, received the honour of a statue from the corporation of Roman traders in Laconia. This valuable evidence for Caesar-worship in Laconia is to be published shortly by Professor Kougeas, of the University of Athens.³⁹

Professor Kabbadias has again been excavating at Epidaurus, where he has cleared an extensive bath-building, and two *stoa*i; one of these seems to belong to a large structure with porticoes, possibly sleeping quarters for the patients, pending their admission to the 'Abaton.' Also a fountain, surrounded by a colonnade, may plausibly be identified with one mentioned by Pausanias.⁴⁰

Turning now to Asia Minor, where naturally no work has been possible since the late summer of 1922, we have to note that in that year three sites in particular received attention, namely, Clazomenae, Nysa ad Maeandrum, and the great church of H. Ioannes Theologos at Ephesus. At the first-named, as Mr. Wace mentioned in his last account, Dr. Oikonomos, in addition to locating, on an island in the bay, remains of the town itself, found and examined the cemetery from which come the famous sarcophagi. He found many *in situ*, and was able to bring a fine example to Athens, but it is feared that the rest have perished. The pottery, of which a large quantity was found loose in the soil or on the surface, but not in any of the sarcophagi, contains very little of Attic origin, but will shed valuable light, in spite of its damaged condition, on local styles.

At Nysa ad Maeandrum, under the direction of Dr. Kourouniotes, the principal discovery was that of a massive Council House (*Περικλικόν*), which bears a strong resemblance to that at Miletus, having as its main features a large fore-court with colonnade, and polychrome mosaics; and the architectural features can be restored with some fulness from fallen fragments.⁴¹

Dr. Sotiriou's researches at Ephesus, where he has shed valuable light on the structure and history of the church of H. Ioannes Theologos, are now fully published (in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1922), and need not be summarised here; we must note, however, some fragments of Classical inscriptions among his finds, one of which has given rise to Dr. Oikonomos' exhaustive study of the distribution and functions of 'Naopoioi.'⁴²

ITALIAN SCHOOL

Excavations conducted by Professor A. Della Seta, Director of the Italian School, on the south slope of the Acropolis of Athens, revealed remains of an early settlement behind the *stoa* of Eumenes; this consisted of the foundations of an approximately rectangular house, with a stone-built hearth, and under the floor were traces of an earlier occupation of the site. The finds included

³⁹ Cf. *meanwhile* *B.C.H.* xlvii. p. 511.

⁴⁰ *Bk. II. c. 27, 5*; cf. *B.C.H.* xlvii. p. 503.

⁴¹ *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1922, pp. 1-88, and 227-40.

⁴² *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1922.

obsidian implements, a piece of a stone axe, and pottery, some of which 'resembled the characteristic Sesklo ware'; the latest occupation of the site is dated to the Eneolithic period.⁴³ Further trials failed to reveal any other early settlements. In Thessaly, members of the School explored a cave, known as Koukouvaia, on a hillside west of Pharsala, which had already been identified, by inscriptions carved on the rock at the entrance, as sacred to the Nymphs.⁴⁴ The only finds of interest were some terra-cottas, of various dates from the sixth century to Hellenistic times; the types included Pan, Nymphs with vessels on their heads, and doves, the last perhaps indicating an associated cult of Aphrodite.

Another cave, which yielded more interesting results, was explored in the island of Cos, situated high above the sea on a promontory at the west end of the island. Here traces of almost continuous occupation from Neolithic down to Roman times, with clearly marked stratification, came to light. Of the pottery from the earliest settlement only one piece had incised ornament, and painted ware was totally absent, the normal types having either rough or hand-burnished surface. In addition to a few stone implements, the objects of obsidian—which was recognised as coming from the adjacent island of Giali, not Melos—and shells pierced for use as ornaments alone call for mention. The Mycenaean pottery was but scanty, while that of the Geometric period was plentiful, its decoration being strongly reminiscent of that from the Greek mainland. Not later than the fourth century the cave was sacred to Pan and the Nymphs, as is attested by numerous terra-cotta figurines, and a broken inscription of Hellenistic date appears to give a list of votaries. Finally, Roman lamps prove that the site was still frequented after the beginning of our era. The Roman theatre at Cos was also examined, but destruction and removal of the masonry by mediaeval builders made it impossible to recover the plan; two incidental finds, namely, a marble head of Hellenistic date of a young man, and another, bearded type, which was archaistic, alone call for mention.

The various activities of the Italian Department of Antiquities in Rhodes, under the charge of Professor A. Maiuri, are independent of the Italian School in Athens, and I can add nothing to the reports given from time to time in the *Bollettino d'Arte*. These show that important excavations have been carried out at Kamiros and Ialyssos, and that the conservation of the great fortifications erected by the Knights of Rhodes has been carefully taken in hand. In conjunction with the Italian School, the same body excavated for a week at Geüik Chailar, in Caria, on the Budrum peninsula, where they located an extensive cemetery. The tombs are *Tholoi*, with *dromos* and rectangular side-chamber, and, in spite of having been robbed, yielded pottery of Geometric type, which, while resembling that of the islands and mainland adjoining, had characteristics of its own. It is clear that the civilisation represented here, which may be appropriately called Lelego-Carian, is of post-Mycenaean date.

Last, but not least in importance on my list, come the remarkable finds

⁴³ *Bollettino d'Arte*, December 1922.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*; cf. 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1919, pp. 48 ff.

made by Dr. D. Levi, who excavated, during the summer of 1924, a large number of tombs at Afrati in Crete. This site, the ancient Arkadia, is situated on a foot-hill of Mount Lasithi, some thirty miles from Candia towards the south-east. The interest of the locality had long been known, for Professor Halbherr had explored the cemetery of Erganos not far away.⁴⁵ On the top of the hill of H. Elias is a small fortress with rounded towers at the angles; on the east slope lies the town, which Dr. Levi found to have been much destroyed by local cultivators. One *insula* of large houses yielded pithoi, but the other pottery, from Geometric date onwards, was unimportant. The cemetery, situated on the western, terraced slope of the hill, contained tombs of various types and pottery of striking interest. There were, in the first place, about 160 interments—cremation-burials—in jars; these in turn were enclosed in pithoi; though the latter have largely disappeared. In each jar was one



FIG. 8.—VASES DISCOVERED BY DR. LEVI IN TOMBS AT AFRATI, CRETE.

body only, and with the ashes were one or more small vessels—aryballoi, *et sim.*; outside the jar often an oinochoe or some other type of vase had been placed in the pithos, or even loose in the ground alongside it. Burnt soil above, in which sometimes bronze objects were found, testified to a cult of the deceased continuing after death. Various built tombs included three *Tholoi*, in the largest of which, over three metres in height, and built of squared stones, numerous interments had taken place. A stone sarcophagus contained ashes, but it had lost its lid and been robbed of its other contents; the tomb itself was full of urn-burials, with decorated Geometric pottery, terra-cotta figurines, and a fine lion, of the same material, of unmistakable proto-Corinthian style. The presence of a skull seemed to show that an earlier interment, presumably of Mycenaean date, was the occasion for the original building of the *Tholos*. Of two other smaller *Tholoi*, both of which had collapsed, one yielded rich finds in bronze, of early Orientalising date. Noteworthy were a noble lion *protome*, a shield with a frieze of gryphons, pins, and

⁴⁵ *A.J.A.*, 1901, pp. 259 ff.

in pottery a fine Rhodian oinochoe. Three other inhumation-burials were found in small square graves, associated with pottery of the Geometric period, and at Stochofina, where Professor Halbherr had excavated twenty-four years ago, two more rectangular inhumation-tombs, each of which had contained



FIG. 7.—JAR FROM THE CEMETERY OF ATRARI, CUNEO.

several bodies, were found; they contained also Bügelkanne and proto-Geometric pottery, with many iron weapons, swords, lance-heads, knives, etc., but no bronze. Dr. Levi has also located the actual place of cremation for the bodies of the Arkadia cemetery, finding, in a thick layer of burnt earth, many remains of metal objects, paste beads, etc. The pottery from these

numerous interments, as far as it has been washed and examined, seems largely of local fabric; strongly-marked Minoan characteristics of motive and treatment survive, ornamenting shapes which are direct copies of Geometric and early Orientalising vessels. At the same time a few of the finer pieces, notably two Rhodian-like oinochoai, and many of the smaller vases, such as aryballoi, lekythoi and alabastra, seem certainly to be imported, in the latter categories from centres of proto-Corinthian and Corinthian manufacture. The survival of pre-Geometric motives, the mixture of native and imported wares, and the overwhelming evidence that the Geometric style continued, simultaneously with the diffusion of proto-Corinthian products, are some, but not all, of the conclusions which we may draw from this most important excavation. It serves, in fact, to emphasise how much we have yet to learn about the evolution of Cretan art early in the first millennium B.C.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

ONCE MORE SOPHOCLES AND NOT SOLON

THE last volume of this Journal (1923, p. 149 *sq.*) contains a reply to my criticism of Dr. Théodore Reinach's article, 'Poet or Lawgiver.' Dr. Reinach calls my criticism long, although it is just half as long as his attempt to destroy a corner-stone of Greek iconography. His own reply is by no means brief: thus in his first footnote he spends twenty-seven words in gibing at my two-word correction (on p. 65, not 59) of one of his misquotations. I shall not follow this example, but shall answer no more than what I think indispensable to caution readers less familiar with this branch of archaeology against Dr. Reinach's irrepressible self-confidence.

Dr. Reinach begins his reply with an *inéditum*: the mention of a private letter of mine, in which I showed myself so 'confident' in the strength of my arguments as to propose that Dr. Reinach should make use of them to write himself a recantation of his essay.' He forgets to add that he had explicitly asked for my opinion, inscribing on the copy of his paper forwarded to me '*si quid novisti rectius istis.*' I felt justified in taking this appeal seriously, having published, in the course of a quarter of a century, a number of researches into very various questions of the same department. That my advice was sound I still believe. But Dr. Reinach chose to reply even to my printed criticism with the same irresponsibility against which I had to defend a dead scholar of undoubted merit.

Thus he states that he saw 'with no little surprise the wide use which Dr. Studniczka makes of the argument *ex auctoritate* in several passages of his article, counting the authorities instead of weighing them.' Now the only passage in which (to complete the references given by Friederichs-Wolters and Holbig-Amelung) I had to 'marshal' a list of scholars (not only 'German and Italian,' but also Danish, English and French) was p. 59, note 1; and there my point was solely to prove that Dr. Reinach was wrong in charging the late J. J. Bernoulli with 'an undue respect for German infallibility,' etc., because of his final adhesion to the name given, not by Germans, but by E. Q. Visconti and Marchese Melchiorri to the later Sophocles type, and accepted 'by nearly all competent writers' of all nations. In this sentence of mine (p. 57) Dr. Reinach silently suppresses the word 'nearly' in order to accuse me of 'granting the epithet of competent only to those scholars who share my opinion.' Yet he himself charges all the scholars who have held this opinion with having 'done little else in this matter than repeat faithfully and blindly what had been said by Melchiorri and Welcker at a time when the study of Greek costume and the chronology of Greek art were still in their infancy.' Among such blind parrots of an antediluvian thesis we find ('with no little surprise') not only, in 1901, old Bernoulli, who 'lacked

courage and independence of his German masters,' but also the late M. Collignon in his *Histoire de la Sculpture* of 1897 (ii. p. 348), and still in his *Statues funéraires* of 1911 (p. 172) (intimidated, one may suppose, by Helbig's *Guide* and Arndt's *Portraits*, which he quotes in the earlier book), and in 1912 and 1913 the third edition of the Helbig (Nos. 284 and 1180) so carefully worked over by Amelung, author of the Vatican sculpture catalogue and of the important articles on Greek costume in *Pauly-Wissowa* (*chiton*, *chlaina*, etc.). Amelung was able to cite, for the same conviction (ii. p. 480), no fewer than three new special books on ancient iconography, by A. Hekler (a Hungarian), R. Delbrück and G. Lippold, and he might have added Sieveking's iconographical appendix to the fourth and fifth editions of W. Christ's *Gesch. der griechischen Literatur*. Once more, in 1912, the new description of the *Statua dei filosofo* by Stuart Jones (*Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, p. 232-33) proved still to depend on 'Melchiorri and Welcker.' In all this lamentable inertia the only precursors of the light were, as I said on my p. 58, Count de Clarac, who wished, however, to christen the Lateran statue Aeschylus, and the re-editor of his *l'Ingo Musée*, S. Reinach, who simply declared '*n'est pas Sophocle*.' The real source of this faith seems to have been Léon Heuzey's lectures on the history of Greek costume, now published in the splendid volume of 1922 and quoted in detail, with enthusiasm, in the reply before us, p. 154. As my own first work of any importance was a contribution to the same subject, I also am very glad to have lived to see Heuzey's book, which was already announced by G. Perrot in his kind review of my *Beiträge* (*Rev. arch.*, 1886, ii. p. 125). For it gives us admirable reconstructions, executed with the best of stuffs in living models, of the most important types of antique dress, reconstructions perhaps even better and certainly much more complete than Baldwin Brown's essay 'How Greek women dressed' (*Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1905). But what I do not find in Heuzey's work is any new evidence for what is the 'corner-stone' (reply, p. 153) of Dr. Reinach's argument: that the Lateran statue *must* represent a statesman, because of the likeness of its drapery to that of the Naples Aeschines and other orators. The method would be much the same if we were to assert that all Romans portrayed in the toga, and all modern gentlemen portrayed in the frock-coat, were statesmen, because some of them are. Against this fixed idea, which recurs in the reply, I could only repeat, and perhaps supplement, what I said in my first article, p. 65. Similarly with Dr. Reinach's dream of our man as 'facing an audience' and his fancy that the combination of the inscribed herm-shaft of Solon with an antique head of the Lateran Sophocles type must have had some better reason than the arbitrary methods of the restorers, of which I gave him several examples on p. 57.

The main concern, however, of Dr. Reinach's reply is to save at least the negative part of his contention: to prove that our statue cannot represent a poet, and therefore cannot represent Sophocles, because there is no attribute in the hands, as there is in other representations of poets that have survived and been identified. But why should it have been impossible to renounce all traditional attributes in a portrait statue when the inscribed name was

sufficient to perform the function of an attribute? No doubt the ordinary attribute of a strategos was the helmet; but we know from Lucian (*Philopseudes* 18) that the Corinthian strategos Pelichos was represented by Demetrios of Alopeke as *φαλαγγίας*, and therefore without the helmet, and as *ἡμίγυμος τὴν ἰνδαλῆν*, that is, dressed in the himation only. Then of authors other than poets I can immediately recall at least one example without the ordinary attribute of a scroll: the statue of the most prolific writer among the Stoics, Chrysippus, the reconstruction of which, by Milchhöfer, has been made into a certainty by various subsequent observations, including those of Lippold (*Porträtstatuen*, p. 75; cf. also Poulsen, *Ikonogr. Miscellen*, p. 759). In the Lycargean triad of the great tragedians the artists may have declined to repeat one of the two attributes in use for dramatic poets—the scroll and the mask—and preferred for the sake of variety to leave just Sophocles, as the most normal gentleman of all, with empty hands. This suggestion of mine, however, has elicited Dr. Reinach's disapproving smile (p. 153). He himself thinks it possible to give Sophocles a lyre, in memory of his performances as lyre-playing leader of the Salaminian paean chorus and in the part of the cithara-player Thamyras in the stage, perhaps also in the corresponding picture in the Stoa (*Stos*, 3, 5). But as a matter of fact we know stringed instruments only in the hands of lyric poets; for instance, in the Anacreon at Copenhagen and the two Pindars mentioned on my p. 64. On the other hand, there is no difficulty whatever in assuming that the Lateran statue originally had a mask, a mask characteristic of a Sophoclean tragedy, placed on a base as in the Euripides relief at Constantinople in the spot where Tenerani added the box of rolls. Such an attribute could have already existed in the bronze original. Thus, to take an example, the pedestal of the Arcadian votive group at Delphi shows large sockets near the traces of the feet of the Apollon and Callisto (by the sculptor Pausanias), and these sockets most probably belonged, as Bulle has suggested, to their attributive animals (*Arch. Mit.*, 1906, xxxi. 485, Pl. 24).

That our statue does really represent Sophocles and no one else is proved, and remains proved, by the small bust in the Vatican. It is true that Dr. Reinach in his reply (p. 151) has still the courage to deny the identity of the type, and adduces four numbered arguments. But every competent person who will look with sufficient care at my Figs. 1 to 5 will see, what all the scholars mentioned above saw: the cogent likeness of all essential features, and not more variation than is usual among replicas of portraits. Only one must realise what Dr. Reinach once more prefers to ignore, that the Vatican bust is not above half life-size, and that such reduced copies are as a rule of inferior workmanship, and therefore nothing better than 'abstracts of the original, partly simplifying, partly exaggerating its forms.' I must repeat these plain but clear words from my first article (p. 59), in spite of the reply (p. 151), in which Dr. Reinach only shows how little he has learned, even after the hints I gave him, about the strange differences existing, in antiquity just as nowadays, between one copy of a portrait and another; differences, of course, exaggerated by the photographs, taken in different lighting, on which we

often depend. He cannot even have looked at Plate I of my *Bildnis des Aristoteles*; which I once more beg every reader seriously interested in the question to do. The small Vatican Sophocles repeats even such a rare detail of the forehead as that described on my p. 61, about which the reply, otherwise so rich in words, keeps absolute silence. Characteristic of Dr. Reinach's desperate obstinacy is his new counterproof: beside my photograph of the Lateran head he places the Vatican herm of Periander (Fig. 2); the Periander, says he, is more like the Lateran head than the small Vatican Sophocles is. Our author is unperturbed by the absence of the strophion, the division of the front hair, the undercutting of the lower lip, the division of the beard, which is, moreover, much shorter in the portrait of the tyrant, and so on.

Still more desperate is Dr. Reinach's treatment of the inscription of the small bust (p. 149 sq.). As I wrote on p. 57, it is 'inscribed on the plinth Σοφ]οκλῆς, or rather Σο]φοκλῆς.' Not wishing to waste the space of this hospitable Journal, I did not discuss this slight difference of reading as being of no importance. For even if not more than . . . οκλῆς were preserved the completion to Di]okles is *a priori* quite improbable, physicians being of the utmost rarity among the antique portraits preserved to us in later copies, and Emped]okles is far too long for the space available. But above all, the photographs which I had in front of me, including that reproduced as Fig. 3, coupled with my own clear memory of the marble, left me no doubt that I could follow Kaibel (*I.G.* xiv. No. 1211) in preferring the reading of Visconti's good cut to that of Visconti's manuscript copy, which is already mentioned in Kaibel's note; especially as Helbig and Amelung, in the *Guide*³, No. 284, declare there are six letters preserved. Dr. Reinach, however, in his Fig. 1—the second *inéditum* of the reply—gives a photograph of a poor tracing made by M. Marcel Durry of the French School at Rome, with that gentleman's declaration, that 'ls Helbig . . . se trompe lourdement,' etc. (footnote 3). I am ashamed to say that this authority was quite unknown to me, perhaps only because of the recent incompleteness of the libraries in our impoverished country. Dr. Reinach, however, 'weighs' him as 'a well-trained archaeologist.' Unfortunately his training has not fitted him to inspect the broken edges of inscriptions with the necessary exactness and to know of the φ taller than other letters, of which the upper end is preserved in our bust. [In the meantime all these facts have been re-established by Prof. Amelung on p. 54 of this volume.]

Like a cautious man Dr. Reinach has prepared, in footnote 5, a means of escape in case 'the supplement Σοφ]οκλῆς holds good': he is ready, if driven, to suspect the authenticity of the whole inscription, although the marble bearing it was not discovered till 1778. For this purpose he reminds us of the Vatican herm (Hekler 22) inscribed Ζήνων, 'which is really a portrait of Plato, and *vice versa* a bust inscribed Πλάτων (Uffizi, Barneoulli, ii. 20a) which certainly does not represent Plato.' But in both cases he is surprisingly wrong in declaring that 'there is no serious reason for suspecting the antiquity (comparative of course) of the inscription,' at least if we mean by antiquity any period earlier than, let us say, the time of Petrarch.

So after all these hopeless efforts to get rid of clear documents admitted, with good reason, by nearly all competent writers, we still have two different types of the head of Sophocles preserved, just as two statues of this poet are mentioned by ancient authorities. Bernoulli's final acquiescence in this fact having been declared a 'desperate hypothesis' in 'Poet or Lawgiver' (p. 56), I was obliged to prove as fully as I could that a double iconographical tradition like this is not so very rare (p. 63 *sq.*). It is not quite fair of the author, who did not take notice even of the double Euripides portrait, now to pronounce this part of my paper 'a useless *hors d'œuvre*' (reply, p. 151); but it is perhaps to be welcomed as a sign of docility. Another slight progress is that Dr. Reinach no longer calls the Iophon statue 'a myth,' but only 'not proven' (p. 152). But it is proved, in spite of the insignificant variation in the manuscript tradition (Westermann's *Biographi*, p. 128, and O. Jahn's *Electra*, 3rd edition by A. Michaelis, p. 11), by the well-known sentence in the *Bioc* as I have understood it with others (p. 66). This sentence speaks of the *ἱεραία*, that is, the erection of a cult image, of someone by his son Iophon after his death: the someone can be nobody else but Sophocles. This *ἱεραία* alone is sufficient to prove the worship of the great poet as a hero, which is mentioned in the *Etymologicum magnum*, s.v. *Δελφία*. A cult like this being above all a matter of family religion, the first to perform its duties was the new hero's son. The notion that Iophon would have been prevented from doing so by his disputes with his old father seems to me quite untenable. Even in our own time, which has no longer any serious belief in the power of *νεκρὸν Σείριον*, such hostilities are wont to end in face of the majesty of death.

Dr. Reinach's last objections to the obvious and generally accepted identification of the two Sophocles portraits preserved with the two statues set up by Iophon and by Lycurgus (p. 153) do not deserve serious confutation; for they are based on the old primitive notion that the whole development of Greek art was merely a homogeneous progress in naturalism. The real process, so much more complicated, will easily account also for the thorough and different remodelling of the earlier portraits of Sophocles and Euripides in the time of Lycurgus (see my p. 65).

FRANZ STUDNICKA.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Plotin: Ennéades, I. By E. BRÉHIER. Pp. xiv + 131 (double). Paris: Société Budé, 1924.

This edition of Plotinus will be very useful, since the attentive reader will be able to correct the many inaccuracies of the translation by the Greek text. It might have been better had M. Bréhier spent less time on the text and more on the translation; but we must be grateful to him for giving us a text which, if by no means final, is on the whole well-printed and has an apparatus criticus, which, though not perfect, will be the best of those easily accessible to the student. M. Bréhier's introduction is a valuable piece of work; his acquaintance with the Alexandrian philosophers is wide and sympathetic; and he has judged very wisely what is required in the introduction to a translation, refraining almost entirely from any exposition of the Plotinian system.

Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek. Band I.
Herausgegeben und erklärt von PAUL M. MEYER. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G.
Teubner; Hamburg: C. Boyss, 1911-1924. Pp. 269; 14 plates.

The Hamburg collection of papyri, though not one of the great collections, is fairly large, and includes some very noteworthy pieces. The present catalogue, entrusted to one of the chief living papyrologists, himself a native of Hamburg, began to appear as long ago as 1911, when Part I appeared. Part II followed in 1913; but the war and the economic collapse which followed delayed Part III for eleven years, and it has now been issued in a less elaborate form than its predecessors, and without the excellent facsimiles which accompanied them. But it brings Vol. I to a conclusion, and shows the same high standard of editorial competence as distinguished the other parts.

The majority of the papyri published in this volume are of the Roman period. There are, however, some valuable Ptolemaic documents, including one fine and several fragmentary letters from the well-known Zeno archive, and a few Byzantine papyri, whose quality amply atones for their comparatively small numbers. Among the papyri of the Roman period, which form the bulk of the collection, though there is no single document of epoch-making importance, there are a good many which rise well above the average. Special reference may be made to the list of records (No. 18) in Part I, the epictetus acts (31 and 31a), an interesting letter (37), and a notable series of receipts from soldiers of the *Ala Veterana Gallia* (39) in Part II, and two valuable though fragmentary papyri throwing light on Latin wills (72 and 73) in Part III.

Prof. Meyer's editions are always specially welcome owing to the fullness of his commentaries, his wealth of bibliographical reference, and the legal knowledge which he brings to his task. This catalogue of the Hamburg papyri, though not free from faults and disfigured by one or two careless blunders, is an admirable achievement and makes a most valuable addition to the literature of papyrology.

La Céramique Grecque. Par CHARLES DUGAS. Pp. 158; 88 figs. in text. Paris: Payot, 1924.

M. Charles Dugas, of the University of Montpellier, has written for the Collection Payot series of miniature monographs on artistic and scientific subjects a useful little book on Greek vase-painting. It consists of two parts: the first discusses such questions as shapes,

technical processes, and the uses for which vases were made; the second is historical, covering the ground from Middle Minoan to the Hellenistic period. In Part II it is obvious that in 100 small-sized pages it was impossible for M. Dugas to do justice to the wealth of material at his command, and the result is that some periods, notably that of Attic black-figured vases, are somewhat meagrely treated. But on the whole it is a useful and handy introduction to the subject. There is a short bibliography, some of the items in which seem oddly chosen.

H. B. W.

Lychnos et Lucerna; Catalogue Raisonné d'une Collection de Lampes en terre cuite trouvées en Egypte. By Dr. ALFRED OSBORNE, with preface by E. BECCIA. Pp. 18; 7 plates. Alexandria, 1924.

Dr. Osborne's collection of ancient lamps is interesting as illustrating all the types found in Egypt in the course of six or seven centuries, ranging from the flat, open Greek type to the 'frog' lamps and others of quasi-Christian origin. The catalogue includes 107 examples, and in each case the description is given in a clear, succinct form, the excellent photographic plates enabling the writer to dispense with detailed descriptions. His dates on the whole agree with those assigned to the different types by previous writers, though whether he is right in assigning to the 'heart-shaped nozzle' type an earlier date than the British Museum Catalogue does, seems questionable.

H. B. W.

Babylonian Historical Texts. By SINNEY SMITH. Pp. viii + 159, with 18 plates and a frontispiece. London: Methuen, 1924. £1.12s. 6d.

Mr. Smith publishes six cuneiform texts from the British Museum relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon, with facsimiles, transliterations, translations, discussions, and notes. Four are new, while three concern Greek studies; one of these is a revision of the Nabonidus chronicle, which bears on the account of Cyrus in Herodotus and Xenophon. But it is for the publication of Nos. 5 and 6, and the excellent and attractive manner in which they are presented, that the author deserves the gratitude of all students of Hellenism.

No. 5, *A Chronicle concerning the Diadochi*, which is new, is a copy, perhaps made c. 280, of an older original; it contains 60 lines, all fragmentary, dealing with the years 321-312; the obverse is dated by the years 4 to 8 of Philip III, the reverse by 9 to 9 of Alexander IV (with 14 lines which must belong to 5 of Alexander) and 1 of Seleucus. Mr. Smith has extracted a surprising amount from it; the most certain new information is that the ruin of Babylon was begun by Antigonus, not Seleucus, and that in 316 Antigonus plundered Babylon, a fact already tentatively conjectured by Oppert (*C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1901, p. 830).—As to chronology. The chronicle makes Philip's first year 324/3. Mr. Smith suggests a temporary derangement of the calendar, but the list Sp. II: 71 (E. Meyer, *Forchhungen*, 2, 456), which correctly makes Philip's first (antedated) Babylonian year 323/2, is against this; might the date have arisen from Philip's first Macedonian year being 324/3? Anyhow, the Philip years are certain; but Mr. Smith equates 6 Alexander with 8 Philip, 317/6, making Alexander's first Babylonian year 322/1. He inclines to believe Alexander was born in 322; but on our Greek material his birth about July-August 323 is certain, and 322/1 as his first year would mean that the chronicle, which antedates Philip, not only postdates Alexander, but in consequence also proceeds to shift various well-established later dates. It is possible; but the equation between the two sets of years is a question of fact, and I would suggest starting from the year 7 Alexander, where Antigonus' campaign against Eumenes is accurately given, extending from Ab. (August)—the Koprates—to Tebet (January)—Gabiens, soon after the winter solstice; as this campaign is quite certainly 317/6, we get 7 Alexander = 317/6 = 8 Philip. (This is confirmed by the chronicle itself, for Eumenes captures the 'palace' of Babylon in Tebri of 7 Philip, i.e. October 318; if then his campaign against Antigonus were 316/5, both would have

spent 317 doing nothing.) On this basis, the alliance made in Marcheswan of 6 Alexander, i.e. November 318, will be that of Eumenes and the Eastern satraps (Diod. 19, 13, 7, *ὑπὸ πρῶτον ἀνατολικῶν*), and not that of Antigonus and Seleucus, whose alliance was c. July 317 (Diod. 19, 17, 2); and the word 'Seleucus,' the first entry under 9 Alexander, 315/4, will refer, not to his flight, which was 316, but to his stirring up the coalition war against Antigonus which began in spring 315, say in Nisan. The chronicle works out all right on this basis, except rev. ll. 3-7; assuming that Seleucus (or rather his general; he had left 'in the midst,' and in August was at Susa) did recapture the 'palace' of Babylon in Ab (August), the fact has got displaced from 7 to 6 Alexander; but I think the displacement of one military item is more probable than the alternative dislocations already indicated. The appearance of Alexander's 85th year in the chronicle shows that, in any case, the Alexander years did overlap the Philip years; was the copyist conflating two originals, of which one dated by Alexander throughout?—I feel too much difficulty in supposing, as Mr. Smith suggests, that Diodorus may have wrongly confused an incident correctly given in the chronicle, because in Diodorus Seleucus floods Eumenes' camp on the Tigris in early spring by opening a disused canal, and in the chronicle diverts the Euphrates to recapture the 'palace' of Babylon in or after August. Surely we may accept both events, even if Diodorus did very occasionally muddle his transcript of Hieronymus.—The unexplained Dur., which Seleucus was building in 320, suggests Doura; hardly, however, the now famous Doura-Europus, which was probably not in Seleucus' satrapy, but Doura on the Tigris (Polyb. 5, 52, 2; *αὐτοῦ*). Seleucia is unlikely, for the name associates Seleucia's foundation with Seleucus' claim to kingship later.—These items may serve to illustrate the interest of the new chronicle.

No. 6, *Historical Account of the Reign of Antiochus I Soter for the years 276-274 B.C.* This document was utilized by Beloch in Lehmann-Haupt's partial translation, which made Ptolemy II defeat Antiochus in 273. Mr. Smith's new translation of the whole now shows that it was Antiochus who defeated Ptolemy, and in 276. This proves that current ideas of the first Syrian war need drastic revision; and as Miletus was Seleucid in 280/79 and Egyptian in 279/8 (Belch, *Milet* 1, 123), perhaps war had been going on since Antiochus' accession; quite possibly Ptolemy's important letter to Miletus (*ib.* 130) belongs to this war. The translation gives other new information of interest; and it was Antiochus, not Seleucus, who ended Babylon's civil existence.

One is grateful too for the revised translation (p. 148) of Strassmaier's docket about Sidon. It shows now that Oebus took Sidon in the summer of his 14th (Babylonian) year, i.e. of 345.

W. W. T.

The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire. By H. GRANT ROBERTSON, PH.D. (University of Toronto Studies: History and Economics, Vol. IV, No. 1). pp. 89. Toronto: The University Library, 1924. \$1.

This book handles a fairly well-worn theme in a competent and scholarly manner; it gives a clear view of the subject, and is well documented. Dr. Robertson distinguishes sharply between commercial cases, *δικαστὰ ἀνὰ ἀρχαίας*, where Athens had a treaty with the allied State and there was some sort of legal reciprocity, and political and criminal cases, where she treated the allies as subjects and simply transferred trials to her own courts. The latter type is examined at length, and the concluding chapter, from its moderate tone, constitutes a grave indictment of the Athenian judicial system; the chief argument on the other side which the author can find is that the Athenian democracy thought judicial control necessary to maintain their empire, though in fact it helped, no less than the tribute, to destroy it. The chapter on commercial cases is interesting, for the *ἀρχαία* were to receive an extension later, and the mixed system of law contemplated by the treaty with Phaselis (p. 18) may perhaps be regarded as foreshadowing the Hellenistic practice of sending judicial commissions from one city to another, which tended to diminish the particularism of the cities' legal outlook, and may have done something to remedy that sovereign defect of Greek legal procedure so frequently illustrated in this book, the

subordination of justice to political considerations. On pp. 14 and 19, n. 1 actor and actresses are misprints for acts and actioners.

Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement. By MARSHALL MONROSMERY, M.A., B.Litt. pp. 232. Oxford University Press, 1923. 10s. 6d.

Friedrich Hölderlin, a contemporary of Goethe and Schiller, and like them imbued with enthusiasm for Greek art and literature, is little known in England, though his lyrical poems are now recognised in Germany as being the finest expression of that admiration for the antique which was one of the main sources of inspiration throughout the classical period of German literature. The present volume goes no further than the publication in 1794 of the first draft of Hölderlin's poetic romance, 'Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland.' It is to be followed by a second volume dealing with Hölderlin's more mature work.

The latter part of the title indicates better the scope of this volume, which is less an estimate of Hölderlin as a poet than an investigation of the influence of the neo-Hellenic movement in Germany upon his development and an exhaustive study of the movement itself, which, beginning at the Renaissance, includes the great names of Winckelmann and Lessing. The appreciation of Homer is taken by the author as a criterion for the understanding of Greek art and literature in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a chapter is devoted to an analysis of the critical writings on Homer from the time of Barth to that of Hölderlin.

Catalogus codicum astrologicorum graecorum: Codices Athenienses. Descripti ARMANDUS DELATTRE (tomea X.): Pp. viii + 291. Brussels: Lamertin, 1924.

This volume, undertaken at the inspiration of Franz Cumont and printed at the expense of the *Société des études de universitatibus Belgicis fovenda instituta*, is of slight value for the study of ancient astrology, but of considerable interest for the evidence it affords of the survival of beliefs of this kind in Christian Greece and of linguistic development (recorded in two full indices). Thus passages from thunder (p. 58 f.) are given as being a revelation to Eudæus: in it may be noted an interesting warning against the twentieth of the month (p. 30, 22), (among the ancient Greeks it was clearly not an unlucky day, as appears from its being a favourite day for dinner-parties; cf. Bacchylides, in *P. Oxy.* 1361, L 5; *Suppl. Lyr.*² p. 79). For the patient diligence and ingenuity that has gone to the making of this edition our best thanks are due to all concerned.

I Misteri: Saggio di una Teoria storico-religiosa. By RAFAELE PETTAZZONI. Pp. xxi + 353. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1923. L.20.

Prof. Pettazzoni here sets forth his view of the development of the mysteries of the ancient world from 'una religiosità di carattere stamico e vegetativo.' Chapter I is a full and interesting discussion of the bull-roarer; in subsequent chapters the agrarian basis and the later evolution of Greek, Thracian, Phrygian, Egyptian, Semitic and Persian mysteries are expounded; in a final chapter the author states his general conclusions and considers the relationship if any between the mystery religions and Christianity.

He has written with learning and judgment and shows some acquaintance with the *difficillima ars sacrorum*. The suggestions which follow are offered in a spirit of sincere appreciation. The discussion of the rites of Eleusis (p. 45 ff.) should take into account A. W. Persson's important paper, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxi. p. 287 ff. (cf.

M. P. Nilsson, *Festschrift Wachsmagel*, p. 139). The figures on the Mycenaean fresco treated p. 64 (cf. p. 353) may represent men mummifying as asses (cf. A. R. Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv, p. 81 ff.; De Visser, *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen*, p. 190). Such titles as *Hagun, Pais, Kore* are hardly 'quasi segni verballi di una più umana e familiare concezione del divino' (p. 71): they are probably mystic circumlocutions (cf. E. Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 69 ff.). Cumont's brilliant interpretation of *manduca hiberna* in the catacomb of Vincentius should hardly be given as an accepted fact (p. 88), and the note on *Hyppistos* (p. 101, n. 99) should be enlarged by references to E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 621 f., and J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 263 L). On the introduction of the cult of Attis in Rome (p. 126), J. Carcopino has written an important paper in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* for 1923. In the note on the epitaph of Abercius (p. 149, n. 79) the view that it is by an orthodox Christian (still, I think, the most reasonable: cf. Leclercq, *Dict. arch. christ.* I, 69 ff., J. Dölger, *IXΘΥΣ*, II, p. 454; *Die Eucharistie*, p. 19 ff.) should at least be mentioned: to the note (p. 199, n. 60) on the edict of Ptolemy IV, Philopator, a reference may be added to C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, p. 22 ff. (cf. *C.R.* 1924, p. 105 L), to that on recent Mithraic discoveries (p. 277, n. 39), F. Cumont, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1915, p. 293 ff. (*San Clemente*), *Ann. Épig.* 1920, n. 47 (Volubilis), *Notizie*, 1924, p. 69 ff. (Ostia), to the discussion of a Philadelphian inscription (p. 327), O. Weinreich, *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Heidelb.* 1919, xvi., and in *Ditt. Syll.* 2 985 (cf. *C.R.* 1924, p. 58 L). The fact that Statius knew the art-type of Mithras slaying the bull does not prove the presence of the cult in Rome (p. 242); Statius was a Neapolitan, and the cult may have been imported to South Italy by the pirates Pompey settled in Calabria, without reaching Rome till later.¹ Further, we miss a discussion of the puzzling Phrygian mysteries treated by Sir William Ramsay, *B.S.A.* xviii, p. 37 ff. Missprints perceptible to a foreign eye are not numerous: L. H. Farnell (pp. 82, 93) should become L. R. Farnell; Paul-Wissowa (p. 196 L) and Willen require correction, and *ἡρεῖοντες* on p. 263 should become *μυρίγοντες*.

The book as a whole is useful and illuminating.

A. D. N.

The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice.
By A. BERRIDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. Pp. 405. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 21s.

A great part of Prof. Keith's book, which another Sanskritist of eminence characterises in a letter to the present reviewer as 'sound and thorough,' is meant primarily for the specialist in Indian history and literature. It contains, however, much which the student of Greek literary history would be ill advised to neglect, especially in the first section, dealing with the origin of the drama in India. It is refreshing, after not a little very positive and none too well informed writing on the subject, to have the evidence for the source of the Sanskrit equivalents of Tragedy and Comedy set forth plainly and impartially by anyone so competent and sane as Prof. Keith.

The conclusions he arrives at—and on the evidence it would seem that some of them are past reasonable doubt, others highly likely—are as follows. Indian drama is not an

¹ For the pirates cf. *Serv. ad Georg.* iv, 127. I note here an Ostian inscription (published *Notizie*, 1909, p. 52).

σ'ι'μ

ORYPH

OMPE

as Vaglieri prints it. *POMPEI* or *POMPEIAN* is perhaps not impossible, as the name of a freedman (or descendant of a freedman) of Pompey's (though the inference would be uncertain in view of the frequency of the name). In l. 2 I would suppose *ORYPH* to be an error for *CRYPH*, the title of the second grade of Mithraic initiates being *cryphos*. But this is a mere conjecture.

early product. Ritual of a sort which might be called dramatic did exist in Vedic times, but did not produce a literary form. Recitations of the great epics, again, by the Kathakas or rhapsodes, who used music, gesture, and dancing in accompany their performances, furnished material for something like a play; but the essential element of a conflict was absent. Fairly early, possibly in the fourth century a.c., almost certainly by the second, there existed a ritual representation of the combat between Kṛṣṇa and Kāśa, the most famous and popular of many which (like that of Xanthos and Melanthos in Greece) set forth the struggle between light and darkness, summer and winter. In the Indian rite, the darkness (represented by Kāśa) is defeated; the miracle-play has a happy ending; so has the developed Sanskrit drama, invariably.

Somewhere in the second century a.c., probably not long after 150, the two elements, ritual *agon* and epic recitation, blended, and the result was drama. Another element, the germ of a sort of comedy, is seen in one of the stock characters, the faithful but caustic retainer (Vidūṣaka), for whom ritual connexions can be found, and whose ultimate origin may well be the magical employment of abuse.

The subject is commonly an exploit of a god, Kṛṣṇa or another, such as Śiva; historical characters also occur, in later works. That the drama ever was at any time a rite in any sense connected with the propitiation of the dead, is not only unproved, but disproved, by the evidence (pp. 46-47). It was extremely popular, and hence much used by various religions, notably Buddhism and Jainism, for propaganda. A wholly secular origin is very unlikely (pp. 49 *seqq.*).

Any support, therefore, which analogy with Indian drama may have been thought to furnish for any view of the origin of Greek tragedy other than that of which Dr. Farnell is the best-known exponent, is seen to vanish; this applies especially to the theory of Sir Wm. Ridgway.

Prof. Keith carefully reviews the theory of Windisch, that Sanskrit drama is largely due to Greek influence, and arrives at a verdict of 'not proven' (pp. 57 *seqq.*), while admitting that it is by no means impossible, especially in view of certain features of that species of plays known as Nāṭikā, which suggest the plots of New Comedy. The theory of Indian drama he considers owes little, if anything, to Aristotle (p. 356).

R. J. R.

Le Credenze D'Oltretomba nelle Opere Letterarie dell' Antichità Classica. Second edition. By CANOLO PASCAL. 2 vols. Pp. xii + 196 and 205. Turin: G. B. Paravia & Co.

The first edition of this work was reviewed in the *J.H.S.* in 1913 (vol. xxxiii. p. 126). The qualities which were then selected for praise still exist, namely, the attractive style and obviously intimate acquaintance with ancient, especially Latin, literature on the part of its author. The contents have been improved in detail, but the plan of the book is unchanged. As a sort of anthology of passages from ancient literature expressing ideas, literary and popular, on death and the after-life, and accompanied by explanations mostly correct so far as they go, the book has its value; for instance, chaps. xv. *seqq.* contain a good list of literary Descents into Hell. But so much is included that nothing is very adequately commented upon; thus, the very curious epitaph, Bœcherus 103, has only a line or two devoted to it, l. p. 124; and where anything like a critical investigation is attempted the results are not encouraging. It is strange to be told, in a book published in 1923, that Hermes is the morning twilight (l. p. 59). That Orpheus is 'una figura schiettamente popolare' (ibid., p. 61), and to have his supposed temple (*Ibid.* Aug. xvii. 1, 6) taken seriously, is hardly what one would expect in a writer coming after Wissowa's *Religion and Kultus*. The suggestion (l. p. 163) that a pair of altars is a characteristic feature of the cult of the Di Manes is refuted by one of the passages quoted to support it, Verg. *Æd.* 7. 68. But the worst defect is the absence of any proper criterion for distinguishing between literary fancy and popular belief. Thus Vergil's account of the Furies in *Æn.* xii. is declared to embody popular tradition on the strength of the word *dicat* (845). Does Signor Pascal hold that the story of Regulus is popular also, because Horace (*Odes.* iii. 3, 41)

introduces part of it with *fertur*? A strange slip, for the author is a good Latinist, occurs in Pt. I. p. 8. *Quo Caesar abiit celans imperio, vel Divus splendidus totus in prandio* is rendered 'Dive as tū è andato Cesare, coccolso nel suo imperio; splendido per le sue ricchezze,' missing the reference, unmistakable in a mediæval author, to the parable of Dives and Lazarus. There are a few misprints, chiefly in Greek quotations.

Il Verbo di Pitagora. By AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. Pp. 302. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1924.

The author begins by a very reasonable question. Since no one seriously doubts that Pythagoras existed and taught, why do so many historians of Greek philosophy write as though Pythagoreanism began with Philolaos and Archytas? That there are great difficulties, caused by the scantiness of our earlier and the notorious unreliability of our later sources, in discovering what he and his immediate disciples held, Rostagni does not attempt to deny; but he is of opinion that a fairly complete reconstruction is possible with the help of allusions to Pythagorean doctrine in writers of the sixth and fifth centuries, compared with the views ascribed to the founder of the school by Neo-Pythagoreans.

He starts with Epicharmus, Frag. 2 (Diels), in which together with Frag. 1 he detects allusions to specifically Pythagorean theories, notably the doctrine of numbers and the contrast between the Divine unity and the multiplicity of matter. These doctrines he also considers to be fundamental in Philolaos; and therefore likely to be part of the traditional lore of his sect. In both these cases he combats with much plausibility the suggestion that the authors in question are drawing upon Ionian, and specifically Heraklitan, material. A similar coincidence with views stated elsewhere to be Pythagorean is to be found in the fragments of Alkmaion of Kroton, who was a younger contemporary of Pythagoras himself and may possibly have heard him. In Empedokles he believes we have clear traces of a very ancient *quæro discors*, originating in the earliest days of the school, and first appearing in a written form, together with additions of Empedokles' own, in the *Katharmoi*, which he attempts to reconstruct on the basis of this supposition. Finally, he holds that this document has left clear traces in the teaching of Sotion of Alexandria, as reported by Seneca, and in the long speech of Pythagoras in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, at least in that part which begins at *Met.* xv. 453.

While the reviewer considers that Signor Rostagni is rather apt to claim too much for Pythagoreanism, and differs from him on many details, notably the account he gives (pp. 111, 104) of the connexion of that doctrine with popular beliefs and with Oriental ideas, the book as a whole is well-reasoned and deserving of attention. Unless and until we recover a great deal more of the literature of the sixth and early fifth centuries than is ever likely to see the light, conclusions regarding the intellectual history of that period must remain doubtful on many points: but the author has made out a plausible case for his views, which may be recommended to the consideration of students of the early development of European thought, in hopes that means may be found to arrive at confirmation or refutation of this interesting work.

Kantharos: Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cult. By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN, Associate Prof. of Art and Archaeology in Princeton University. Pp. 225, with index and 10 plates. Princeton University Press, Princeton (London, Humphrey Milford), 1924. 52s. 6d.

καὶ ποτὶ δαίμονας, Prof. Elderkin quotes from Epicharmus, and this motto is the best thing in the book. The opening essay is the most reasonable. A series of archaic grave-stelai from Sparta, of the sixth century, show an enthroned pair, the man holding a kantharos and the woman a round object, which Prof. Elderkin thinks is a pomegranate. Smaller figures approach bearing offerings, and in a reverent attitude. The seated figures are usually taken to be the heroised dead: Prof. Elderkin prefers to think that they are the

chthonian Dionysos, holding out the cup of immortality, with Persephone at his side, and that the smaller figures are the newly dead aiming to be made divine and immortal. So far, there is nothing impossible in his views: one might be inclined to consider his theory, were it not for his attempts at proof. In the next few essays, or chapters, he wanders over the centuries and from country to country, collecting mystic ideas, including some which exist mostly in his imagination, without furnishing a shred of evidence that such ideas were familiar in sixth-century Sparta. The general effect is as of one who should try to explain the religious condition of England at the time of the Wars of the Roses, taking his material chiefly from John Wesley's *Journal* and from the sacred writings of the Silda. It is not Comparative Religion, but the wildest parody of it.

Later on, after finding Mithraic allusions in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, he interprets the *Pans* as a Dionysiac mystery, his materials consisting of about one part of Mr. Cornford's theories and ten parts of his own extraordinary speculations. Other chapters are founded on the most doubtful of Mr. Lawson's and Miss Harrison's conclusions; others, again, on late and syncretistic references to the Kabiri, who seem to be a kind of King Charles' head to the author. Of the etymological flights which occupy the latter half of the book it is kindest to say nothing at all.

H. J. R.

Ethics: an Historical Introduction. By STEPHEN WARD. Pp. 90. 2s. 6d.
Greek Philosophy: an Introduction. By MARGARET E. J. TAYLOR, M.A. Pp. 143. 2s. 6d.

(The World's Manuals, Oxford University Press, 1924.)

We are grateful to Mr. Stephen Ward for not having added to the number of dismal 'hand-books' for the beginner. What he has given us is less a history than a philosophical essay on the development of ethical thought. He possesses, as readers of *The Ways of Life* will remember, an independence of outlook and a distinction of style not often found in contemporary philosophical writing; and the present little volume contains much that is worth reading for others than beginners. Perhaps, however, Mr. Ward would have been well advised to carry further his own excellent principle that it is better to be personal than complete, and begin his survey of ethical systems with Hobbes. His treatment of ancient and medieval philosophy is somewhat jejune as well as unsympathetic (e.g. the theory of Forms is dismissed in a sentence as an 'intellectualist construction'); and one or two slips suggest that he is not quite at home in this part of his subject. The statement that Socrates was a sculptor comes from very questionable sources and is hardly consistent with Plat. *Apol.* 22 D, and Xen. *Memorabil.* iii. 10, 6. And to say without qualification that for Epicurus 'the lust of heaven was a self-invented nightmare' is at any rate misleading; the anxiety of Epicurus to find an honourable place for the Olympians is a highly significant fact in the history of Greek religion.

Miss Taylor writes strictly for beginners and disclaims originality. Her account of pre-Socratic philosophy is hardly more than an abridgment of Burnet's work, and, like all abridgments, somewhat dull. But in her exposition of Platonism she grows eloquent. It is to be feared that in some minds her tendency to use the history of ancient philosophy as a text from which to preach a rather vague moral idealism may induce more irritation than edification. Moreover, her enthusiasm for Plato tempts her to occasional *suppressiones veri* (nothing is said about the treatment of artists in the *Republic* or the treatment of atheists in the *Leves*) and *suggestio falsi* ('Aristotle was never at home on the summit. . . . He had no vision of a higher reality'). With these qualifications the book may be recommended.

Études Prégrammaticales sur le domaine des langues indo-européennes et chamito-sémitiques. By ALBERT CUST. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris—XIV.) Paris: Champion, 1924.

Hitherto the case for a common origin for the Indo-germanic and Semitic languages has been based mainly on lexical correspondences obtained by the assumption of a parent

language in which a very large number of consonants alternated. M. Cuny, in the present work, undertakes to show that the two groups of languages have also a considerable number of formative elements in common. To these he assigns definite functions, borrowing, by the way, from Bantu grammar the term 'classifier.' His method is simple. He adopts, almost without modification, the chaotic phonetic system devised by Möller for pre-Indo-germanic-Semitic: and to the host of etymologies thus secured he adds many more by an uncritical use of the methods of root-analysis made familiar by Persson. Moreover, he deals with a stage in the development of language when there were no grammatical forms and no syntax (pp. xii, xiii), though it would seem that a language which made no provision (whether by flexion, particles, word-order or intonation) for indicating the relation to each other of the words in a sentence could not be a language at all.

The character of M. Cuny's speculations may be illustrated from his operations with certain 'classifiers' of frequent occurrence. Starting from the assumption that the radical elements in the Idg. and Semitic names for the numeral '5' are identical, he obtains a suffixed element *-que* (Idg. *pen-que*, though he holds that the Germanic forms presuppose a suffix *-ye*). This is identical with the Latin *-que* (conjunction and generalising particle). In the pre-Indo-germanic-Semitic period this particle, with the sense 'and,' was not exclusively enclitic, and appears in the name of the numeral '4,' *que-terce*, as a prefix. As '1' plus '3,' notoriously, is '4,' the conclusion is inevitable that the 'root' of the name of '3' is identical with that of '4.' In *tr-ey-er*, *quod-ter-ces*, the root is *tr-*, *-ey-* with the ablaut variant *-i-*, is a 'classifier' associated with the names of things grouped in threes; and *-ter-*, with the ablaut variant *-e-*, is a classifier denoting membership of a group of two, or one of two contrasted classes. This 'classifier' is suffixed to the dual (e.g. Skt. *dyau-*) and actually appears, after many millenniums of retirement, in an Arcadian inscription to puzzle conventional scholars. Its use as an infix explains the variation in Gk. *dyōis*: Lat. *clūis* < *clū-i-nis*; Gk. *ἄρτε*: Goth. *auþ*; Lat. *caput*: Goth. *haskith*, and came like Lat. *dyē*: Skt. *Dyāu-*. This 'classifier' is also the stem-vowel of *-a* stems, many of which, like *gess-*, are names of things that are associated in pairs. The 'classifier' *-i-* is the stem-vowel of *-i* stems. Whether any considerable number of them are names of members of groups of three is not clear.

Another important 'classifier' is the vowel *a*, O. Egyptian *ḫ* which indicates family relationship. With its help (for it is suffixed to the root in Indo-germanic and Old Egyptian, but prefixed in Semitic) it becomes a simple matter to show the original identity of *pater* with *abū*, of *mater* with *ummū*, and of *frater* with *adh*. In the Idg. form of the last word it should be noticed that the idea of relationship is emphasised by the use of three 'classifiers,' *a*, *-r-* (which appears in *soci-or-*, 'sister') and *-ter*. The 'classifier' *a* may be omitted at will; hence the divergence in the quantity of the first vowel in the name for 'son,' *a(i)a-a-a-a*. Here the *a* is simply a phonetic device for separating the vowels, and the final 'classifier' indicates contrast—'son,' not 'daughter.' The radical element of the word is identical with that of the Old Egyptian *ḫ3* 'son.'

There are two facts which M. Cuny has neglected to consider. It is becoming every day clearer that an early stage in the development of the Idg. languages was passed in Western Asia. Till it has been possible to estimate the value of the evidence from that quarter, it will be premature to go farther afield into regions from which no real evidence is at present obtainable. Further, till the early relations of the Semitic and Hamitic groups of languages have been more fully investigated, there can be no sound foundation for a comparison, on the morphological or lexical side, of Idg. and Semitic. Whether the two families are related remains still an open question; and now that there is considerable amount of probability in favour of the view that the Semitic languages originated in Africa, and the Indo-germanic in Western Asia, the question should be considered with caution.

There is no index to M. Cuny's book, an omission which in a work of this kind is irreparable.

J. F.

L'Ancien Art Serbe: Les Eglises. By GABRIEL MILLET. Pp. 208, with 245 illustrations in the text. Paris: Boccard, 1919.

To those who still think that the Serbian nation is a semi-barbarous tribe recently detached from the civilising influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire this volume will come as a surprise and a revelation. M. Millet sets forth in clear and simple form an account of the development of Serbian church architecture from the time when Byzantium was first extending her architectural influence in the ninth and tenth centuries into the Danube valley, down to the time when Serbia was finally overrun by the Turks.

Three main schools can be established, each distinguished by its fine taste and its independence of the sources from which it draws. At no period is there either slavish dependence upon alien originals or anything that could be described as barbaric imitation; nor is there any trace of gradual decadence. There is change and evolution throughout, and at each period and in each school the Serbian architect shows complete mastery of method and art.

The first and earliest school is that of North Central Serbia: it is eclectic and experimental, but never immature. The predominating influence is pure Byzantine derived from Dalmatia on the west, Nish on the east and Macedonia on the south. The debt to Macedonia, where the church type is distinctive in plan (usually with a triple nave), involves contact with the Orient, for the Macedonian style owes much to the settlements of monks from Cappadocia, of Georgians on Athos and of immigrant Armenians in eastern Macedonia and western Thrace. After 1204 the eclectic character of this school becomes more pronounced and Latin influences are evident. The earlier Latin influences seen in churches such as those of Studenica and Zica evolve suddenly into the Mediterranean Gothic of the Church of the Annunciation at Grdadac. At Decani we see what is practically late Romanesque, while at Studenica the sculptural decoration is almost Venetian. The Latin occupation of the capital of the empire has looked up the encircling Byzantine provinces and introduced purely Western traditions.

The second school emerges in the fourteenth century as a sequel to the great architectural revival at Constantinople itself at this period. Macedonia now acts as an intermediary between Serbia and the Capital, with Salonika and the old Vardar road as the means of communication. At Gracanica and Nigoricino we see the typical 'five cupola plan' of the period. Byzantium has asserted herself without the mediation of the Orient.

The third school, that of the Morava, emerges for the most part after 1400. The plans of the earlier schools are developed and improved. Apse and transepts are distinctive of the period and cupolas take on more lofty and generous proportions. Towards the end of this period Oriental traditions again appear, introduced by the Turks, who, by employing Serbian architects (as at Usküb) for their mosques, brought the full influence of Oriental methods to bear upon local art. The astonishing windows of the church at Kalešić, which at first glance seem to be early Gothic, are, in fact, Oriental in decoration as in design.

M. Millet has performed his task with clarity and reserve and his exposition is made the more clear by the admirable collotype illustrations in the text.

S. C.

The Acropolis of Athens. By M. SCHROEDER. Translated from the German by H. T. Price. Pp. 145; 105 plates. Berlin: Schoetz & Partheyius, 1924.

This is a clear and simply-worded account of the Acropolis of Athens from the remotest times until the present day. Artistic and political history is skilfully worked into a concise and coherent narrative. There is no new information, but, on the other hand, there is nothing obsolete. The student and the visitor to Athens may well use this book as the clearest and most illuminating popular summary available of the progress and development of Attic art as well as of the many architectural problems involved. The author has wisely avoided controversy and accepted without criticism the most generally accepted views: this ought, perhaps, to have been made clear in a preface; but if some parts of the account strike the reader as too dogmatic the necessary corrective is to be found in the

references which are attached to the list of illustrations. The great advantage that the reader derives is that he is able to trace the gradual changes of Athenian taste and see how the Acropolis changed from generation to generation.

A few minor points need comment. Thus Endoikos was almost certainly an artist of the régime of the Peisistratides (p. 45), while the Pelargikon can hardly be said to have included the Mycenaean wall on the top of the Acropolis: it lay immediately below it (p. 87). The reference to illustration No. 8 on p. 38 is hardly adequate to explain the details described. The forms 'Arrhophores,' 'Gajus,' 'Peisistratic,' 'Peisistratides' and 'Alkmaeonides' and the spelling of 'scepter' and 'phantastic' do not quite conform to the usual English standards. The illustrations leave little to be desired, but we should prefer anything rather than the horrible bronze version of the 'Lemnian' Athena on Pl. 45. It is pleasant to see the beautiful archaic double-faced plaque of Athena (Pl. 26) given the prominence that it deserves and has so seldom received in books of this type. The line-block illustrations in the text are dull and unimaginative and the proper value is not given to the column capitals of the archaic period. But the book will undoubtedly be of great use to students.

S. C.

The Wonders of the Past: the Marvellous Works of Man in Ancient Times described by the Leading Authorities of To-day. Edited by J. A. HAMMERTON. 3 vols. Pp. 1248; 1500 photographs and about 120 pictures in full colours. London: Educational Book Co., 1924.

Many useful works of this type have been produced, but none, perhaps, with such care or equipped with such well-chosen illustrations. Mr. Hammerton is to be congratulated upon an undertaking which has involved much organisation and labour. The whole of the Old World in ancient times is ransacked and its principal monuments of historical and artistic worth are described and illustrated: a vast period of time is covered, from the misty past of Sumér and Akkad to the golden age of Byzantium. Egypt, Arabia, Carthage, Greece and the Roman Empire submit their most famous monuments for comparison with the less known but no less impressive works of man in the New World in Mexico, Honduras and Yucatan. The Great Wall of China, the shrines of Burma, Java and Ceylon are put before the reader for comparison with the Roman Wall in Britain, the temples of Sicily and the marvels of Palmyra and Baalbek. Comparatively unknown marvels such as the tombs of Algeria and the ruins of Rhodesian Zimbabwe are put before us. Except for Byzantium the marvels of Christendom are omitted—and rightly so, for the editor has expressly confined his work to the achievements of man in other times and other fields. Throughout we see the achievements of man in the grand style: in each case he is the *myalaxepripis* whether at Stonehenge or on Easter Island.

In schools and universities alike these volumes should serve as a commentary on ancient history or on geography. To criticise either the method of presentation or the manner of illustration would be superfluous in a work which is primarily intended to stimulate and to supplement existing methods of teaching.

The contributors are, for the most part, real authorities on their subjects. Out of so much that is good it is hard to select any contributions for special praise. What is remarkable is that in a few thousand words each writer has achieved the same standard of simplicity without sacrifice of quality. Perhaps the most illuminating articles are those of Mr. Wright on Palmyra, of Mr. Campbell Thompson on Belshazzar, Prof. Garstang on the Hittites and Mr. Woolley on Carthage: nor must we omit Prof. Myres' account of Athens that reads like an Elizabethan book of travel. Only here and there does the standard of illustration fail, as in Prof. Halliday's article on the 'Gods of Ancient Greece' or in some of the views of Athens, which are cold and dreary. In the text Mr. Frank Rutter does his subject scant justice in his chapter on 'The Peerless Gems of Greek Sculpture.' No matter what he says, we cannot accept the Venus of Melos as a work of unique merit (incidentally it was not found in the ruins of a temple! (p. 246)), nor do we believe that 'Greek art was not realistic but ideal' (p. 244): we recommend Mr. Rutter to abandon

his affection for the Belvidere Apollo and study the genesis of Greek portraiture. With Roman sculpture he is more successful, thanks to the labours in that field of Mrs. Strong and others. Incidentally the story of Zeuxis and his Helen of Troy (as told by Mr. Richter) is preserved not by Dionysius of Halicarnassos but by Cicero (p. 251).

For the rest there is little to criticize. Prof. Myers deserves a bad mark for calling Suidas the 'Cornwall of Attica' and the Kerkiraikos the 'Westminster of the Athenians' rather in the manner of 'Blackpool the Naples of the North,' and we shudder at 'centre round' on p. 685. But we can forgive him all for the inimitable photograph of Athens on pp. 685-686, and for his otherwise limpid style.

On pp. 1091-1092 the old story of the 'Mycenaean city' and 'Mycenaean occupation' of Troy appears again. There is, of course, no evidence for this, but only for Mycenaean importations. The walls of the sixth city of Troy may be of Anatolian type and they may be of Egyptian. The one certain thing about them is that they are not Mycenaean.

Mr. Wright in his article on Delphi should know better than to tell us that the 'pale wild priestess of Delphi' inhaled the fumes and writhed on the top of the golden tripod that surmounted the Plataean snake; and Mr. Pryce seems to have got his orientation of the gates of Diocletian's palace wrong. It is the *Porta Argentea* that has practically vanished. The *Porta Aenea*, which is the South Gate, remains much as it was designed—a small and unimpressive water gate on the sea.

Dr. Hall in his article on 'Babylon the Great' bursts almost into song in his lyric enthusiasm; but his words would perhaps seem more suitable for a description of the Grand Babylon Hotel. The requisite style is safer in the hands of Mr. Woolley, who knows his public better.

But all such criticisms are after all of minor importance. These three satisfying volumes do more than merely achieve their primary purpose of instruction: they leave the reader asking for more. We only hope that Mr. Hammaerton's muse (yclept *Ephemeris*) is not more than temporarily exhausted.

Of printer's errors there are remarkably few. 'Signum' on p. 1088 and 'Castely' on p. 1226 were all that met the reviewer's search.

S. C.

The Oresteia of Aeschylus. Translated by H. C. TRUVELIAN. Pp. 154. Liverpool University Press: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922. 3s.

Four Plays of Aeschylus: the Suppliant Maidens, the Persians, the Seven against Thebes, Prometheus Bound. Rendered into English verse by G. M. COOKSON. Pp. 212. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Translated by J. T. SHEPPARD. Pp. 48. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 2s.

The Cyclops. Freely translated and adapted for performance in English from the satyric drama of Euripides. By J. T. SHEPPARD. Pp. 27. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 1s.

The Ecclesiazusae of Aristophanes. Translated into corresponding metres by BENJAMIN BUCKLEY ROGERS. Pp. 85. G. Bell & Sons, 1923. Paper, 2s.; cloth, 3s. 6d.

Amaranth and Asphodel: poems from the Greek Anthology, done into English verse by A. J. BUTLER. Pp. xii + 278. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. 10s. 6d.

The Soul of the Anthology. By WILLIAM CRANSTON LAWTON. Pp. xii + 179. Yale University Press, and Oxford University Press, 1923. 12s. 6d.

When we remember the old-time metrical translations of the tragedians, with their pedantry and fustian and their general air of turning 'gentleman into goose,' it is gratifying to note how the standard of literary intelligence in such matters has risen under the influence of the new scholarship. Messrs. Truvelian, Cookson and Sheppard all keep a vigilant eye on the poetic essentials and refuse to be distracted by the scholiast, and their clear and easy English recommends them to the general reader. Not but what Aeschylus may be made too easy. His is a wrestling genius among the masters, and the versions under notice have

scarcely enough to tell us of those struggles of thought with expression which are so characteristic of his work. To render these, however, is a formidable task and has hitherto proved beyond the powers of all except Mr. Locke Ellis in his remarkable re-creation of the *Agamemnon* published in 1920. Mr. Trevelyan has made things more difficult for himself by undertaking to reproduce the 'metrical pattern' of the Aeschylean closeness in unrhymed verse. The result is not consistently happy and leaves very much where it was his contention that a study of Greek lyrical structure might open up new rhythmic possibilities for English. Mr. Cookson, who retains rhyme, is more successful and his blank verse is decidedly the better for not being so freely resolved as Mr. Trevelyan's. More of the original 'gets across' in Dr. Sheppard's *Oedipus Tyrannus*, but this is due to the qualities of Sophoclean stage-craft rather than to superior merit in the translation. Over the *Cyclops* Dr. Sheppard has clearly enjoyed himself, and his version ought to be good fun on the stage; this little volume, by the way, is such a particularly pleasant specimen of Cambridge University Press book-production in all other respects as to make quite distressing the double lapse into staring wrong-fount on page 23.

The cheap reprints of Mr. Rogers' Aristophanes now obtainable should gain many new friends for these admirable translations, which are certainly among the most successful of their kind in English.

Dr. Butler's collection of renderings from the Anthology first appeared as far back as 1881. It has since grown to more than twice its original bulk and the new edition, containing the Greek text side by side with the English and a number of delightful illustrations, makes an attractive volume, more readable than such products of learned leisure usually are. Mr. Lawton's book on 'the soul of the Anthology' consists of twenty-one short essays on various aspects of Greek life and thought in which are imbedded translations of about 200 epigrams. The present reviewer must confess to having no use whatever for this *canonic*, but the translations are generally quite well turned and the best of them successful above the average.

V. S.

Broadway Translations—*Alciphron, Letters from the Country to the Town*. Translated by F. A. WRIGHT, with an introduction. Pp. 221. (1923.)
The Girdle of Aphrodite: the complete love-poems of the Palatine Anthology. Translated by F. A. WRIGHT, with an introduction. Pp. xxvii + 315. (1923.)
Heliodorus, An Aethiopian Romance. Translated by THOMAS UNDERDOWN. Revised by F. A. WRIGHT, with an introduction. Pp. 323. (1923.)
Ovid, The Lover's Handbook: a complete translation of the Ars Amatoria. By F. A. WRIGHT, with an introduction. Pp. 305. (1924.) George Routledge & Sons.
Feminism in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle. By F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. 222. George Routledge & Sons, 1923.

There is much that is praiseworthy in Mr. Wright's *œuvre de vulgarisation*. His versions move along quite readably and keep commendably clear of translator's slang, and if the six-line stanza in which he has chosen to dress the *Ars Amatoria* shows a tendency to take the bit between its teeth, Ovid is enough to put any Georgian versifier in a quandary. The introductions are generally sound and likely to interest the average reader; that to the *Ars Amatoria*, in particular, gives an excellent account of social cross-currents in Augustan Rome and the probable circumstances of Ovid's exile. Mr. Wright's conspectus of original testimony in his short volume on Greek feminism makes illuminating reading, but although his general attitude towards it is doubtless warranted by the facts, he often inclines to press his texts unduly hard. The subordinate position occupied by women in Athens and most Hellenic communities is a well-attested and regrettable fact, but such commonplace of misogynistic folk-lore as the Milesian tales or the practices of the Athenian underworld revealed in the pleadings of Antiphon or Isaeus are of very slight weight in the count. Similar evidence in plenty could without doubt always have been produced in condemnation of all ages and peoples down to the present day.

V. S.

Philodemus über die Gedichte, fünftes Buch. Griechisches Text mit Uebersetzung und Erläuterungen. Von CHRISTIAN JENSEN. Pp. i + 178. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923.

Fragments of the work $\pi\epsilon\phi\iota\ \tau\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ of the Epicurean Philodemus have come down to us on nearly twenty of the Herculanean papyri, the best preserved being parts of the fifth book, which are contained in Nos. 1425 and 1538. Prof. Jensen, of Kiel, has now given us an edition of these, containing in four parallel columns the Oxford transcript, the Naples transcript, his own restoration of the text and a German translation. There is thus made available for the first time a practically continuous Philodemian text, 38 columns in length, and enabling us to form a clear notion of his style and some of his lines of argument. In the three essays making up the second half of the volume Prof. Jensen shortly sketches some of the conclusions which may be drawn from his reconstruction. The most important of the essays shows that among various Hellenistic treatises on poetic theory discussed by Philodemus in coll. 1-13 of the fragment is one putting forward the same arguments as those of the *Ars poetica* of Horace. The author's name, which is not preserved in its entirety, must be read as Neoptolemus, whom Porphyrio mentions as Horace's authority, and who is now revealed as having furnished the Roman not merely with the general disposition of his poem, but with all his principal doctrines and even with some of the detail of similes and illustrations. The other two essays deal respectively with the ethical poetic of the Stoic Ariston of Chios and the theory of $\epsilon\iota\phi\omega\delta\iota\alpha$ as a literary criterion developed by Crates of Pergamon, on both of which the remainder of the fragment throws light.

Prof. Jensen has made this subject peculiarly his own, and further contributions from him on the lines of this admirable little book will be expected with interest.

V. S.

Notes on the Text of Aeschylus. By E. S. HOERNLE. Pp. viii + 100. Oxford: Blackwell, 1921.

The Problem of the Agamemnon: being a criticism of Dr. Verrall's theory of the plot . . . and Dr. Verrall's reply. By E. S. HOERNLE. Pp. 42. Oxford: Blackwell, 1921.

The Recognition Scene in the Choephoreae. By E. S. HOERNLE. Pp. 28. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

The first of the books above mentioned shows Mr. Hoernle chiefly interested in metrical problems, on which his remarks are usually sound and sensible. In particular, his plea for a closer consideration of both meaning and rhythm in determining the line-divisions of choruses can be cordially recommended to any intending editor of Aeschylean texts.

In alliteration of the difficulties of time and space connected with the chain of beacons in the *Agamemnon*, Mr. Hoernle develops an ingenious theory that the King, foreseeing trouble at home and desiring to take Clytaemnestra by surprise, directed their kindling to be delayed until after his own ship had started, and was thus able to appear in Argos only a few hours after the signal had been received there. But it still remains a question how far these difficulties are poetical rather than logical. Mr. Hoernle's analysis of the recognition scene in the *Choephoreae* is excellent, and he gives a new turn to the argument by suggesting that the direction, not the conformation, of the strange footprints by the tomb is referred to in the lines $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\beta\alpha\varsigma$ (ll. 209, 210).

V. S.

Byzantine Music and Hymnography. By H. J. W. TILLYARD. The Faith Press. 4s. 6d.

This book is a compendium of a large subject. Its merits are that it is handy and in English. We can examine it here only from the musical side, leaving the introductory matter about the hymns and their writers to others more qualified. We do not think this is the kind

of book a musician would have thought it worth while to write. He would have lived in Greek churches and got Greek monks to sing into his phonograph, and on the strength of a great many instances he would have convinced himself of the general style and form of the hymn tunes as a whole and made sure of the rhythm and intonation. Only then would he have listened to what these monks had to say about their scales and musical theory, and so have pieced together their intention. Armed with this he could have faced the manuscripts and have arrived at principles which would have cleared up the sparse history.

The method of this book is the opposite of this. The letter of the record is taken as the chief authority; and deductions as to the practice are made from a comparison of references. But in the first place music does not exist until it is performed, for notation always lags years, if not centuries, behind performance; and in the second, what people say about their music seldom matters much, simply because they have no words to say it with, or at least that part of it which is musically important. It is not the actual modes, a cross between Gregorian and Oriental, that we want to know about, but the melodic figures and cadences that the Byzantines thought typical, and which they actually sang, in whatever mode. For the modes merely mark a stage of musical progress, not a locality. They do not come by chance or circumstance, but are the logical result of unaccompanied singing, and are in principle the same everywhere. In proportion as a Greek is a musician he no doubt knows little about his mode and, if we may judge from examples nearer home, cares less.

What does matter about the modes is their mechanism, the way they are used. It is interesting to know that several are used in one melody, that the drone is sung, not played, and, when boys are there, also an octave higher. It would be interesting to know whether, as in Greek folk-song, diatonic is alternated with chromatic so as to produce the effect of our alternation of major with minor; also on what notes of the mode a cadence may come, and which modes—for the word after all means mood—are associated with particular emotions.

It is most disappointing to read that 'palaeographers are by no means agreed as to the laws of rhythm.' That puts us back at the fundamental crux of ancient Greek music. But again one wonders, why ask the palaeographers? If the living voices cannot make the rhythm plain, no marks on paper ever will.

One small point we may comment on. We are told that the octave is divided into 68 'points' (small intervals), and that of these the major tone contains 12, the minor 9 and the semitone 7. The Hindus similarly divided the octave into 22 points and gave those three tones respectively 4, 3 and 2 of them. Both are systems of rough logarithms (the true values in an octave with 68 subdivisions would be 11.56, 10.31, 6.35); the Hindu is slightly the more accurate of the two. But both are clearly theoretical; they state merely an intended relationship, not a practical experience, and we cannot say on the strength of this, though we might perhaps on other grounds, that 'the Greek scale is not in accord with our own.'

The main interest of the book is that it describes a vocal system, like the Gregorian, not an instrumental; and the nomenclature indicates, accordingly, interval and not pitch. It would be an advantage to have the technical terms translated, as the conception that lies behind them counts for a good deal—in such words, probably, as *Petaste*, *Hyporchoe*, and *Psimma* as applied to a 'leap.' The author suggests a connexion with Arabia; but that is purely an instrumental system and its principle is the mechanical division of a string. The analogies with Aryan peoples are much stronger.

A. R. F.-S.

Die Pythais; Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi. By A. Bakhuizen. Pp. v + 172. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1918.

The festival of the Pythais was little more than a name to us until the discovery of the Delphian inscriptions in which the business done at the Pythades is mimed. Dr. Boethius

has now collated these inscriptions with our odd scraps of literary evidence and in the light of these combined sources has reconstructed a skeleton history of the ceremony. His chief conclusions are as follows:—(1) The Pythais, though celebrated at Delphi, soon became a purely Athenian festival, and is quite unconnected with the Pythiads. It also remained distinct until a comparatively late period, from the Pythais of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. (2) The Pythais was instituted in the days of the Eupatrid rule at Athens. But its celebration only took place at rare intervals, and after 330 B.C. suffered an interruption of some two centuries. In 138 B.C. the ceremony was resumed, but died out in the distressful period that followed upon the Mithridatic wars. (3) The Pythais was originally a harvest festival. But in its later days it became a mere pretext for athletic displays by the *jeunesse dorée* and for performances by the *Τετραταί πρὸς τὴν Διόναον*.

Dr. Baethius does not try to prove too much with his scanty material, and his book inspires confidence as a work of careful and accurate reflection.

Aristote, Constitution d'Athènes. Translated and annotated by M. MATHIEU and B. HAUSOULLIER. Pp. cxi + 180. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les belles lettres,' 1922. 10 fr.

This book comprises a well-printed text of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, together with a translation and short notes, and an introduction which will interest other than French scholars. In the introduction M. Mathieu condenses the results of his previous researches in Aristotle's sources for the first 41 chapters of his treatise. He detects no less than three pamphleteers behind Aristotle, a democrat, an oligarch, and a Theraenist, all of whom wrote about 400 B.C. The chapter on *Demos*, and the two constitutions of 411 B.C. (which were perhaps dismissed by the revolutionists, but never enacted), he fathers upon the Theraenist supra. M. Mathieu seems disposed to minimise the importance of the Archidamarchers as providers of democratic material to the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*; but his distinction between an oligarchic 'possip-monger' and a Theraenist document-rigger seems well founded. M. Hausoullier follows on with an analysis of chs. 42 *seq.*, which he considers the product of first-hand research by Aristotle or his pupils. He successfully explains the omissions in this section, e.g. in regard to the *εὐπορίαι*, and commends this part of Aristotle's work strongly, but not unreasonably, as a mine which will repay much further exploitation.

The Poetics of Aristotle: its Meaning and Influence. By LANE COOPER. Pp. x + 167. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1924. 5s.

This volume in the 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome' series summarises the contents of the *Poetics*, with brief illustrations from ancient and modern literature, and then traces the history of the book and its influence upon the literature of Europe. Lists of important editions in various languages are given and the names and opinions of the great critics. Everything is carefully dated. Owing to limited space, Prof. Cooper has had to compress rigidly, and in consequence his exposition may sometimes seem a little dry, but it will certainly prove most useful to students of modern literature, who will find, for example, clear statements of what the doctrine of the Unities owes to Aristotle and to his Italian commentators respectively, and of the various senses in which *Catharsis* has been understood. In these days it is good to be reminded that 'if Aristotle neglects the workings of "fate," the reason is that they are less important in Greek tragedy than our writers imagine,' and that 'there is but one agency against which a Greek hero may not hope to contend—and that is the poet.' After reading Prof. Cooper's summary of the *Tractatus Comiciarius*, which is supposed to contain fragments of Aristotle's teaching on comedy, one feels that his eulogy of it (p. 69) is a little too high-pitched. And is it quite true to say that Aristotle sanctions no derivation of the word *comedy*, in view of 1448a, 37, which surely implies that in his belief *καμπῆλαι* were so-called *ἀπὸ τοῦ καμῖζαι*? But the book gives little occasion for fault-finding. Under Prof. Cooper's enthusiastic guidance

the student will learn not only the value and importance of the *Poetics*, but also how sorely Aristotle needs to be saved from his Renaissance friends.

J. H. S.

La vie de Pythagore de Diogène Laërce: édition critique avec introduction et commentaires. By A. DELATTE. Pp. 272. Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1922.

The first part of this book studies the various problems connected with the life and personality of Diogenes Laertius and the composition of his work. 'Antecedent literature' naturally looms large in such a study, and English readers must not expect to find M. Delatte more merciful in this respect than other conscientious foreign writers. He himself regards Diogenes as a rather simple-minded gentleman, who did not belong to any particular philosophical school, but had a deep respect for Plato, was concerned to defend Epicurus against Stoa estimates, and felt a keen interest in the Sceptics, whom he treated at great length, possibly to show that he was quite at home amid the most abstruse philosophical arguments. Delatte believes that he can discover a certain bias towards Platonism in Diogenes' poetical effusions, which are scattered through his work, but one cannot help feeling that their theology and eschatology are too conventional to justify even so slight an assumption. A certain tenderness towards Platonism was doubtless becoming in a work addressed to a lady devoted to that philosophy. But the problem with which Delatte is more immediately concerned is that of the sources of Diogenes' book. It is generally admitted that Diogenes worked with some pre-existing compilation before him, to which he made additions from other sources. Is it possible to determine these further sources and thus to decide what is Diogenes' own personal contribution to the result? It is difficult to summarise Delatte's conclusions. Many of the authors that in his opinion were consulted by Diogenes are but little known to fame or even to good scholars.

Next comes a detailed study of the MSS. of Diogenes, so far as they bear on the Life of Pythagoras. The twelfth and thirteenth century MSS. B, P and F, are the basis of Diogenes' text, but some of the fifteenth-century MSS. offer readings widely different from these, and it has been argued that they are the heirs of an equally authoritative tradition. Taking G and D, Delatte shows that most of their variants are due to the intelligences, often perverse, of scholars or copyists, and that when they give better readings than B, P and F, the same explanation is tenable. It would have been convenient if Delatte had embodied more of the readings of G and D in his otherwise elaborate *apparatus*.

In the constitution of his text Delatte is profoundly conservative. Thus, among the Pythagorean precepts in c. 17, he keeps *δοσις οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον* and *ἐκείνους ἀποδοῦναι μὴ βαδίζειν*, though parallel texts give exactly the contrary advice, and in c. 20 *πιδάπναι*, generally corrected after Iamblichus to *πιδάπναι* = *πιδάπναι*, on the ground that Diogenes, who was a little simple, may well have made such mistakes or adopted them from his predecessors. His note on p. 220, where he defends the original text against Collet and Risler, is excellent. In c. 49, where he tries to restore a mutilated epigram with the help of Iamblichus and reads *Ἐπὶ τοῦ Λόγου Σίμωνος* at the end of a pentameter, the result is hardly happy. At the foot of each page of the Greek, references are given to all the ancient texts which treat of the same subject as Diogenes, thus forming 'une sorte de répertoire bibliographique qu'on chercherait vainement ailleurs.' The intention of this is to enable the reader to see at a glance the development of the tradition on any point of biography or doxography.

In the notes which form the last section of the book, sources are M. Delatte's main interest. His treatment of cc. 22-24 will serve as an example of his method. These chapters, which contain a medley of Pythagorean precepts and include a prohibition of animal sacrifice, are traced back to Aristotle by Rohde, to Aristoxenus by Diehl. But Aristotle and Aristoxenus, as is known from other sources, did not say that Pythagoras abstained from animal sacrifice, whereas Timaeus did. This consideration, reinforced by parallels between these chapters and a section of Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras*, derived from Timaeus, leads Delatte to the conclusion that Timaeus is their source. Zeller's view

that the extracts from Alexander Polyhistor in cc. 25-33 do not represent old Pythagoreanism is vigorously attacked by Delatte. Amid the vast array of parallels it is quite refreshing to come across something for which Delatte can find no twin, though we could wish it were not the passage in c. 30 beginning *τὴν δὲ δεξιάν τε καὶ ἀριστεράν τε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ*, about which one would like to know more. M. Delatte's work is most carefully and conscientiously done. The concrete results obtained as regards 'sources' seem hardly proportionate to the labour expended, but that doubtless is inherent in the nature of the subject.

J. H. S.

Greek Themes in Modern Musical Setting. By ALBERT A. STANLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

This is a handsome edition of some recent Greek Play Music from America, together with other arrangements and compositions, all by a well-known American musician. The plays are—*Sappho and Phaoi* (a modern tragedy by Percy Mackaye), Euripides, *Alceste* (English text), Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* (Greek text), and the *Menacehmi* of Plautus (the Cantina in Latin). English translations are supplied where needed. The chorus usually sings in unison and the orchestra is restricted to flutes, harp and clarinets—such instruments as seem nearest to the Greek. The composer uses themes from the extant fragments of ancient music, but develops them on fairly modern lines. In the Greek choruses he observes the quantities and metre of the original and avoids florid expansion. He has been obliged to remember the limited powers of amateur bandmen and of choruses impatient of long rehearsals. His work, therefore, is on a different scale from the traditional English settings by men like Parry and Prof. Charles Wood, who with a professional orchestra and a chorus, the training of which was a masterpiece of musical leadership, freely used the resources of contemporary instrumentation and part-writing. Both methods may be recommended; but it is fairly certain that any attempt to dethrone the chorus will defeat the purpose of the play. Parry's choruses, whether Greek or not, were worth hearing: they stirred such emotions as the ancient poet was trying to arouse and, in spite of our misunderstanding of this or that technical point, they brought us into sympathy with the great thoughts of the men of old. If a Greek play falls short of this achievement, it remains, however correct be the details, as little more than an illustrated lecture. But even so it has a high educational value; and we should encourage every attempt from the humblest to the most ambitious. To any school or college wishing to produce the *Alceste* or the *I.T.*, Mr. Stanley's book might be of the greatest help, especially in the latter play, where full directions for the dances, costumes and staging, together with a picturesque series of photographs, are supplied. The Cantina of Plautus are perhaps rather thin ice for a composer's evolutions; Mr. Stanley treats the Latin quantities with some freedom, but the general result is spirited enough. Among the other pieces is a setting for the harp of the apocryphal melody of Pindar, *Olympian*, I., and another of the Sicilian epitaph. It may be doubted whether these two feeble melodies gain much from any accompaniment. The safest course would be for the harp to play in unison with the voice, as the cithara seems to have done. The introduction contains some useful information on ancient Greek music, but it avoids the more difficult controversial topics.

Finally, there is the full score of a symphonic poem, *Attila*, based upon Catullus' ode, but using the full modern orchestra. Some of the themes have an archaic flavour. This work was given by the Boston Festival Orchestra in 1896 and subsequently. We congratulate the author on his success in supplying appropriate music for ancient drama and in inducing American students to concern themselves with this important branch of classical culture.

H. J. W. T.

Forschungen in Ephesos; Band III. Pp. 288, with 281 figs. Vienna: Hölzel & Co., 1923.

This third instalment of the Austrian Archaeological Institute's sumptuous publication of its excavations at Ephesus deals mainly with the Agora, the first discovery of which dates back to 1903. Its clearance was not finished till 1911; but outlying parts, for example the Bibliotheca, have already been published. Now for the first time we have a complete architectural study of its remains from the competent pen of Dr. W. Wilberg, and a complete publication of eighty odd inscriptions found in its area; this latter part is by Dr. J. Kell, formerly resident director of the Austrian archaeological station in Smyrna, and well known for his epigraphical work, undertaken in company with von Premerstein, in Lydia. The Agora, first laid out in the Augustan age, has yielded a succession of public documents of the first three centuries of the Christian era, but no inscriptions of pre-Roman date. What else it may have yielded, and what, if anything, was found beneath it, this publication does not show. The tendency of the Austrian excavators was to be satisfied with the clearance of Roman architectural monuments and not by deeper grubbing to spoil the spectacular effect of them or endanger their stability. But one is not always allowed to know about *Kleinfinde* unearthed in big excavations carried out under the old regime in Turkey. What, for example, has the world been told about the smaller objects found at Zenjirli from thirty to fifteen years ago?

On the Agora follows the publication by Dr. G. Nienman and Dr. W. Wilberg of buildings about the Harbour, that is, at the other extremity of the great central street. Dr. H. Heberdey deals with the half dozen inscriptions recovered there, and also with two texts found upon aqueducts, an architectural study of which, together with other remains of the city's system of water supply in Roman times, is contributed by Dr. Wilberg, to conclude the volume. The usual full and admirable *Indices* are appended. This instalment, like its predecessors, will be a joy to architects and epigraphists, to whom full satisfaction is offered for the great weight and, doubtless, commensurate cost of the volume.

D. G. H.

The Vaulted Tombs of Messara: an Account of some Early Cemeteries of Southern Crete. By SERAPHIOS XANTHOUDIDES, Ph.D., Ephor General of Antiquities in Crete. Translated by J. P. DROOP, M.A. With a Preface by Sir ARTHUR EVANS, F.R.S., etc. Pp. xx+142; 82 plates, and a map. University Press of Liverpool: London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1924.

Since we have become accustomed to the brilliance of Cretan discoveries, we turn with increasing interest to the beginning and the end of the Minoan age. We look now for evidence of early contact with the more ancient civilisations of Africa and Asia, by means of which we hope to explain the phenomenally precocious culture of Crete at the close of the third millennium B.C. We seek also for knowledge of the relations of the Greek mainland to Crete five hundred years later, when mature Minoan arts were carried wholesale to Mycenae. Dr. Xanthoudides' book throws light in both directions. It has been thought that the most remarkable Mycenaean monuments, the beehive tombs, show Cretan decoration applied to a non-Cretan architectural form, of which the prototypes must probably be sought in Asia Minor. In 1904 the remains of two primitive *thaloi* were found by the Italian Mission at H. Triada, but these were isolated and not very convincing indications that the beehive shape might properly belong to Early Minoan sepulchral architecture. The subsequent explorations of Dr. Xanthoudides, which are recorded in this book, have set the matter beyond doubt. The Early Minoan *thaloi* here published, fifteen in number, were found at nine different places in the plain of Messara, east of Phaistos and H. Triada. They were tall pointed vaults of circular plan, built on the ancient ground-level or very slightly below it. All had collapsed, but the thick walls stand in some places to a height of five or six feet, and some of the megalithic doorways are preserved. The walls are built of irregular stones, and their inward lean is done by corbelling. Projecting courses on the outside

suggest that the domes were covered up with earth. Dr. Xanthoudides draws attention to the present-day survival of these vaults in the *sudds* of Mount Ida, the cheese-dairies and store-rooms of the shepherds. Sir Arthur Evans traces their pedigree in the other direction, and finds a beginning in the tents of Libyan nomads. Their design and structure are identical with those of the later monumental tombs of Greece, though the work is far inferior. Their use, however, was not quite the same. The early *tholoi* were communal tombs, belonging to settlements of which remains have been found on neighbouring hills at Porti and elsewhere. The burials which they contained were, of course, very numerous; Dr. Xanthoudides calculated many hundreds in one tomb at Porti. In the Middle Minoan period the fashion of burial seems to have changed, and the *tholoi* were no longer used, but pot-graves and ossuaries of this date were found close to them. The surviving wealth of the burials was not very great, for successive generations stole the offerings of their predecessors; but in the latest deposits enough gold remained to show the opulence of these people. The less valuable gifts had not been taken from the dead, and these are the things that provide such important evidence for external relations. Most notable are the ivory and steatite seals, which were found in very great number and variety. Some of these have already been published. Copper and silver daggers of primitive types are also new and useful documents. The pottery includes the most extensive finds of E.M. I. ware that have yet been made, and shows close connexion with Cycladic and Aeolian forms. Great quantities of stone vessels were found, partly in trenches and ossuaries of M.M. I. date. They are not so fine nor quite so early as the Mochlos group, but they bear out the theory of Egyptian influence which Mr. Seager's find suggested, confirmed by the further discovery here of blue-glazed beads of local fabric. Two imitations of Twelfth-Dynasty Egyptian scarabs were found at Platanos, with a fine Babylonian cylinder of the same date which makes a notable addition to the small company of these seals in Crete. The presentation of this valuable material could hardly be bettered, and the book may well serve as a model to authors, translators and publishers of similar work. The definite and practical descriptions of pottery and other forms must probably be counted to the special merit of Professor Droop. A solitary unsatisfactory expression invites notice as a curiosity: are not the Venetian 'shards smothered with lead' at Chistiós (p. 70) perhaps lead-glazed ware? The Liverpool University Press deserves gratitude for its generous allowance of illustrations, both in text and number. It is true that the material which Dr. Xanthoudides offers, particularly the drawings, is worthy of liberal and skilful handling, but it is seldom that such treatment can be given to archaeological publications in this country. The intrusion of initialled footnotes is probably established as a sort of translator's perquisite. In the present instance they are very few in number and do little material harm; but one (p. 133) is merely facetious, and another (p. 100) is so misleading that it must be examined in detail. At or near Platanos two limestone cones or pyramids were found, about which Dr. Xanthoudides says that the proportion of their weights (exactly 2:3) supports the view that they may be weight-standards. The translator's footnote is: 'Found on a classical Greek site they would be regarded as loom weights.' If Professor Droop had really considered the size and weight of the stones he would hardly have written this note. They rise about five inches on a five-inch base, and the heavier weighs nearly two kilos, about four and a half pounds. They are certainly not loom weights. They may not even be Minoan, but by the place of their discovery and the remarkable coincidence of their weights they are amply qualified for admission to the not very exclusive circles of prehistoric metrology.

E. J. F.

The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires, By JAMES E. DEXLAP. (University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series. Vol. XIV. Part 2.) Pp. 324. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

The subject of the civil administrative system of the Byzantine Empire is one to which until recent times little attention was given; but in 1911 Professor Bury published his exhaustive work on the Imperial Administration system in the ninth century, which is the standard book of reference on the subject, but can be very usefully supplemented by monographs on particular offices, and of such the University of Michigan has now given us two,

that by Professor Bask on the Master of the Office and the present one, in which the Office of Chamberlain is traced from the private chamberlains of the Republic down to the disappearance of the Grand Chamberlain in the eleventh century. The subject is hardly as interesting as that of the Master of the Office, but it is all the more credit to Mr. Dunlap that he has undertaken to explore it. He here shows how the *praepositus* raised himself to the position of an officer of State, but after Justinian's time was reduced to that of a high Court official, though still often exercising considerable personal influence on politics; and the book ends with biographies of four eminent *praepositi*; but, whatever may be said of the other three, the career of Narses has nothing to do with the Chamberlain's office, and it seems unnecessary to repeat the oft-told tale of the Gothic War. The criticisms that I have to make on details are few. From the entry $\delta \pi\rho\alpha\upsilon\pi\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma \mu\eta \delta\epsilon \nu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\sigma$ in the *Klironomia* Mr. Dunlap infers that there were always two *praepositi*, a patrician and a non-patrician. If this were the meaning, it would surely be $\delta \mu\eta \delta\epsilon$; and the obvious meaning is that, if the *praepositus* was not a patrician, he held the position here stated. Mr. Dunlap has shown on other grounds that there were two *praepositi*, but this passage seems to me beside the point. The bibliography of texts is extraordinarily out of date. At least twenty editions here given have been superseded: but possibly the intention is to give those which, being contained in series, are easiest of access. In the useful list of *praepositi* in Appendix A no names are given between the reign of Phocas and that of Justinian II; but Andrew the Chamberlain, who played a great part under Constant II, can hardly have been less than a Grand Chamberlain. I should like to end by expressing a hope that similar studies on other offices may follow.

E. W. R.

The Craft of Athenian Pottery. By GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Pp. 113; 89 illustrations. The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Publication of the Committee on Education. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1923. 25s. net.

Good as this book is, its outstanding feature is its execution itself. The New York Museum appears to possess a publishing staff which is independent of its writers, has no knowledge of its public, and subordinates the use of books to their appearance. Not that the present work is well produced: it is too heavy, being printed on thick glazed paper; its case is too weak, having paper back and hinges; and its pictures are too small, though elegantly proportioned to the size of the page. All these are faults of cheapness for which the purchaser gets no refund in the price. It is a pleasure, however, to turn to the author's text. Miss Richter wisely abandoned antiquarian theories of technical pottery processes in favour of the experience of practical potters; indeed, she learned the craft herself. As the result she corrects many foolish errors which have been commonly repeated in archaeological books, and makes several new and useful observations, particularly on turning and moulding and building in sections. Her practical observations are convincingly illustrated in ancient examples, of which she possesses very intimate knowledge. A new contribution deals with the application of red ochre to the clay. Miss Richter finds that this was added as a wash before the pots were fired or painted, and points out that, although this colour has mostly worn off, it has made the difference between the present surface-colour and the inner pink tone of the clay. In the last chapter there is a useful collection of references to the potter's craft in ancient literature, in which the accompanying translations contain some curiosities of scholarship. It is astonishing that even here, with the Greek text alongside, the impossible word *amphora* should exist.

The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans. By HELEN MCCLURE, Ph.D. Pp. 135, 156 illustrations. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1924. 6s. 6d.

The New York Museum, following the lead of the British Museum, has put together an exhibition of objects illustrating Greek and Roman life. This handbook is a guide to these objects and to others, not withdrawn from the general collection, which can be

used for the same purpose. It is a slighter book than the *British Museum Guide*, and is therefore better adapted for quick reading in the museum. But its price would be prohibitive for a popular guide in this country, and it cannot fairly claim a higher destiny. An original feature is the special section for 'Occupations of Women.' These are chiefly the arts of cloth-making, milling and bakery. The assumption that women were really responsible for them is doubtless a concession of the author to her sex; and we might reasonably expect, from her special interest, to receive some expert guidance in domestic methods. Yet we are told of spinning (p. 34) that 'a small weight, the spindle-whorl, usually of terra-cotta, was attached to the thread below the spindle to increase the twisting motion.' It is an inevitable disadvantage for these guide-books that they must use the material which they happen to possess, so diverse in places and times of origin, to make a representative picture of classical manners and customs. In the present instance, however, such difficulties are easily and pleasantly obscured.

Selected Bindings from the Gennadius Library. Thirty-eight plates in colour, with introduction and description by LUCY ALLEN PATON, Ph.D. Cambridge [Mass.]. Published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Printed in Great Britain at the Clarendon Press. 1924.

When the great library that was brought together by His Excellency M. Ioannes Gennadius was still at De Vere Gardens, it was often visited by scholars in search of some rare book unobtainable elsewhere. How kindly was the welcome—how pleasant it was to sit in that upper room and steal a glance now and then at the great diplomat and scholar as he worked in his play-time at the catalogue of his treasures. And now he has placed scholarship under a new obligation by giving this library, with a true Greek piety, to Athens—to the American School of Classical Studies. The Gennadeion, built of a fine white marble from Naxos, is rising on land once owned by the 'Monastery of the Bodiless Ones,' and will be ready in the summer or autumn of 1925 to receive the finest of Greek libraries. The total number of books and tracts is estimated at about 45,000 to 50,000. Of these M. Gennadius has himself catalogued about half. Especially noteworthy are the first editions of the Greek Classics, beginning with a superb copy of the Homer—first editions of most of the Greek Fathers—copies of practically all the books of travel in Greece—the collection of one thousand odd pamphlets on the Greek War of Independence—the 400 Byroniana—the great Kores collection—the autographs—the 194 large cases of engravings. The catalogue, when it appears, will be a standard bibliography of books and tracts on Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Greece. Meantime in the volume before us some thirty-eight out of the 900 odd fine bindings have been admirably reproduced in colour by Messrs. Whittingham and Griggs and described by Dr. Lucy Paton. The most interesting is perhaps that of the manuscript of the *Eparchia* of Chrysostom that once belonged to the great condottiere Sigismondo Malatesta. The library possesses about twenty Greek Monastic bindings in perfect preservation—these bindings are, of course, very rare. It is rich too in specimens from the libraries of the Popes and Cardinals and of the Kings of France and England and the great collectors. In fact, this collection is of first-rate importance as illustrating almost completely the history of the binder's art. And we would not forget the covers designed by M. Gennadius himself and the remarkable work of restoration done by Mr. Constantine Hutchins, who was for some time keeper of the collection.

The American School is to be heartily congratulated, and scholars will rejoice that the Gennadius Library, like the Finlay Library, has found its permanent home in Athens, which is destined to become the intellectual centre of the Balkans and the Levant.

The Foundations of Classic Architecture. By H. L. WARRERS. Pp. xiv + 357, with 110 plates. New York: Macmillan, 1919. \$6.00.

The late Herbert Langford Warren's book on *Classic Architecture* is already well enough known to be found on the shelves of most Schools of Architecture in this country. It

takes, in rather more detailed manner, the line adopted by the earlier book of W. J. Anderson, completed somewhat differently by Phœbe Spier. It is not an easy line. It is a comparatively simple matter to write hyperbolically about Greek architecture or Greek anything, but not at all easy to do it well. Mr. Warren has done it, on the whole, very well indeed, but this alone would not make his book attractive to students. He has managed to combine vision in description with practical fact, and the tangible subject matter is put down systematically, with considerable skill.

The book is not about Greece alone. A good third of it deals with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and the Egean. For the first two Perrot and Chipiez are evidently borrowed from freely, for the third Dieulafoy, and for the fourth, the Knossos reports and Dörpfeld. Like many good Americans, Warren pays a lot of attention to Dörpfeld throughout the book. In Greece, the main objective of the book, he has managed to avoid extremes and his illustrations are effective and remarkably well chosen. The remarks on the origin and final function (as design) of the Doric order are generally sound, though there is perhaps a slight inconsistency in two separate references to the part played by the Minian order. The resemblance of the capitals of the 'Basilica' at Paestum to those from the Treasury of Atreus is rightly emphasised. Generally the subject matter is treated geographically, order by order, the sculpture taking its place along with the architecture.

On the whole, this book fills a definite place, and is perhaps the best book on Greek architecture in English.

D. T. F.

Polychromy, Architectural and Structural. By LEON V. SOLOV. Pp. xiv + 156, with 6 coloured and 29 uncoloured plates. New York: the Architectural Record, 1924.

Mr. Leon V. Solov is known as an illustrator and vase painter who has used Greek design with advantage. This book on 'Polychromy' is entirely about Greek work, though the limitations and different outlook of the Gothic and Renaissance achievements are discussed briefly in the first two chapters. The book aims at an analysis of the theory and practice of polychromy as practised in architecture and sculpture by the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in order 'to provide the architect and sculptor with simple maxims for guidance.' The author over-labours many of his points and brings in irrelevant æsthetic on matters that are obvious to every practical designer. Nevertheless, his book is of importance, as it is written on a subject which badly needs handling, and it has the great merit of a sound outlook about unreliable data. It is a real advantage to the practical designer who has no time for archaeological research to be told what sources he can trust.

Mr. Solov is not always convincing. He makes classifications which are in some respects faulty, and his treatment of them in detail is often weak and incomplete. His statement of the determining factors of colour emphasis in design on p. 58 is excellent, but when he comes to greater detail on pp. 50 and 52 he is rather at sea. One cannot agree at all that the corona of a Greek cornice is a weight-carrying item. What is meant by the 'peristyle' when 'column shafts and bases' are separately mentioned? Are the 'retaining walls' the cella walls? If so, there is no conception of them that is right except as alternatives for columnar treatment. What is the vague term 'superstructure above architrave' under the heading 'supported items' when the details of this superstructure (except roof) occur under other headings? 'Mouldings' again, is vague when some of the most important are included in other items, and any detailed analysis of such mouldings as the epitrachelion as well as of gargoyles is completely omitted in Chapter IX.

Enough has been said to show that there is some twisting of facts to fit preconceived theories. As an art worker, the author would be on safer ground if he adopted a broader classification that an artist would understand. The inclusion of the corona among the plain undecorated surfaces was because of its function as a *primary horizontal member*.

This is not only sound artistry, but sound archaeology; witness the plain yellow-colouring of the acanthus and cornice with a broken-up member between, in Cretan frescoes of architectural detail. Similarly, the triglyphs had to be treated plainly as they conveyed important structural functions and their dark blue colour was correct in its contrast with the more filling of the metopes. Again, the triglyphs, the listel below the taenia and the mutules were correctly finished in one tone, as they were all parts of a continuous vertical motive, the bright red colouring of the taenia and the drip below the corona providing the necessary contrasting emphasis of the accompanying horizontal. Mr. Solon is correct in his attention to the broad planes of light in the grooves of the triglyphs.

There is some loose phraseology in the treatment of annulets. One does not talk of the 'annulets of the shaft,' but of the grooves of the necking. The only annulets in the Doric column are the three or more fillets below the echinus. There was some amount of experiment, perhaps, even in the Parthenon. The carving of the egg-and-tongue of the ionic capitals and the bead-and-reel above the triglyphs was exceptional.

Plates IV and VII are in particular very good. The ionic and Corinthian capitals in the latter are full of interest and beauty and a most valuable object-lesson to designers; but one cannot see why the triglyph is assumed to have greater elaboration than the ionic capital (see classification B on p. 50).

The chapter dealing with Sculpture is good in the main, though, as in the architectural part, a lot of the writing could have been cut out. The critical bibliography in the last chapter is one of the most useful parts of a book which has many good points and some admirable illustrations. There is little external colour-decoration nowadays, at any rate in our northern countries, but the lessons of Greek polychromy can be applied just as usefully to internal decoration on structure which embodies the principles of Classic architecture.

D. T. F.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook and F. E. Adcock. Vol. II. Pp. 749, 15 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1924. 35s. net.

This volume in many ways improves on its predecessor. The first volume dealt with what is largely virgin soil. In Volume II, at least as far as the Hellenic and Asiatic areas are concerned, the authors have to step warily through an already fully grown jungle of theory. But throughout their statements and views are well co-ordinated.

Dr. Giles introduces the reader to this difficult region with as clear and helpful a summary of the ethnology of Europe and Asia as could be wished. He is lucid without dogma and provides little material for objection or criticism. The migration of Thracian shepherds to Attica in modern Greece (p. 28) must not be taken as a parallel with antiquity. Dr. Giles must be thinking of Vlachs, who are not Thracians and whose home is anywhere.

Of the many controversial subjects in this volume, Dorians and Achaeans take the premier place. Mr. Wade Gery has dealt courageously with the former; Professor Bury has discreetly analysed the latter. Other contributors who touch in passing on these people say nothing that conflicts with the views of the protagonists. Streamlined and effective editorship has prevented mishaps and the volume sets definite views before us. The main statement of theory that emerges is satisfactory and will afford great help to the majority of historians. Professor Bury—as far as his caution will allow him—rejects an 'invasion' of Achaeans (p. 474) and Mr. Wade Gery rejects an 'invasion' of Dorians (p. 325). Both accept instead an 'infiltration' which preceded the ultimate change of culture. The difference between the two 'infiltrations' is only one of time and of degree. The Dorians involve a greater change in the end because of the more savage and destructive nature of its final developments. Both peoples arrived in bulk in regions where they and their kind were already known. Achaeans were perhaps more known because they were local intruders merely moving (as the ancients said) from one canton to another in the Greek world, with varied enterprise (pp. 474-5); Dorians were remembered because their character was so distinct that their advance guards had left

their mark indelibly branded on the lands they entered. Achaeans, being known already and akin in many ways to the 'pre-Achaean' mainland, brought little change. Dorians coming from remoter districts finally massed their numbers and cataclysm followed in their wake.

The whole of this theory and the abandonment of the old 'invasion' views rests on archaeological evidence, which indisputably points to a gradual transition from Mycenaean to Hellenic with a catastrophe at its conclusion. The so-called 'transitional' remains at Vrikastro in Crete, of Salamis island (and Mr. Wade Gery should have added of Mycenae itself), to mention only a few sites, cannot support an 'invasion.' This statement of theory is sound and sufficient, but there is still an unsolved residuum. If Mr. Wade Gery and Professor Bury accept the archaeological evidence they must accept it in its entirety and not evade its difficulties by falling back on myth and legend. If, as it appears (pp. 323, 331-2), Mr. Wade Gery accepts the Dorian character of the 'Spectacle Brooch' and Geometric pottery he will find it hard to cling to the ancient traditions of the inviolability of Attica and Arcadia, and he will find the persistence of the Attic and Arcadian dialects insufficient evidence upon which to rely for a rejection of a Dorian 'infiltration' of those provinces (where both spectacle brooch and Geometric pottery are common). And how is he prepared to explain the story of the Dorian attack on Attica in the time of King Codrus (which receives no mention in this volume), which seems to be mere apology; or the early cult of Herakles on the Acropolis, or the persistence of local Doric in Attic tragedy?

The archaeological evidence for an Achaean infiltration of Greece seems to be the same as that used to prove the Dorian—though in its earlier stages (the excavator of Vrikastro call their pottery Achaean)—and apart from this there is nothing that can actually be labelled Achaean as distinct from Dorian in the archaeological data. The difficulty is emphasised by the case of the Warrior vase which Professor Bury uses (p. 484) to illustrate the Achaean panoply—'we get some idea of their appearance from it,' he says. 'What we do in fact get is a very good picture of a Mycenaean warrior armed in a way that has hints (in spear and shield) of Dorian or Achaean.' The Achaean still remains archaeologically intangible. If anything he is simply a 'proto-Dorian.'

The trouble is that both Professor Bury and Mr. Wade Gery are unwilling to abide by linguistic, or archaeological or mythological evidence alone, but strive to blend all three. This is, after all, comprehensible and sound. But to select only what appears suitable from each and to ignore the remainder is essentially unscientific. Only obviously untrustworthy legend or uncertain archaeological or linguistic evidence can safely be excised. The remainder must be dealt with as a whole. The alleged inviolability of Attica and Arcadia conflicts directly with the archaeological evidence: it must therefore not be accepted at its own valuation. But the authors do, in fact, accept it unchallenged and their use of evidence is therefore eclectic.

Professor Bury's account of Troy and its problems is conventional but adequate. The equation of Troy VI with the 'Achaean period' brings us again to the awkward position hinted at previously, that Achaean = Mycenaean, whereas what the author requires is merely to show that the fall of Troy, the Achaean infiltration of the mainland, and 'transitional' culture are contemporary—which is not at all the same thing. This should have been made clear. No mention of Troy VII is made, and this is a serious omission, for only at this period—well after the end of Troy VI—does Geometric pottery appear at this site.

Space prevents a wider criticism of this important volume, but a humble protest might be lodged against Dr. Hall's belief that 'Minoans could not possibly be regarded as funny (by Egyptian "portraitists") like negroes and Semites,' and a further protest seems required against 'portraitist,' a horrid word (p. 415).

S. C.

Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy, illustrated by texts from Greek Papyri in the British Museum, edited by H. IVERS BELL, . . . with three Coptic Texts edited by W. R. CHASE. British Museum, 1924. Pp. xii + 140. 4 plates.

In the first part of this book Mr. Bell publishes a papyrus purchased by the British Museum in 1921 (Pap. 1912), which appears to have formed part of an archive belonging to the *connegrammateus* (or to a *connegrammateus*) of Philadelphia. On the verso of this long, but imperfect, roll, the recto of which contains a tax-register, there was copied a letter of the Emperor Claudius to the citizens of Alexandria, together with the edict of the prefect L. Aemilius Rectus ordering its publication. The embassy which was the occasion for the writing of the present letter had three objects: (i) to congratulate Claudius on his accession, and in connexion therewith to request his acceptance of various honours; (ii) to ask for certain favours; (iii) to present the official *apologia* of the city for the recent anti-Jewish disturbances' (p. 5). The prefect's edict dates from the second year of Claudius' reign (A.D. 41).

Of the honours offered to him by the deputation the Emperor accepts some—*εὐκρίπνισιν* *ὡς* *ἐπὶ* *τῶν* *τοιαύτων* *ῥημάτων*—and rejects others. He allows the Alexandrians to celebrate his own birthday as a *Dies Augusta* and to erect statues to himself and to the members of his family; he sanctions the erection of four-horse chariots in his honour at the entrances of Egypt; he approves of the introduction of a Claudian tribe; he permits them to set up statues in honour of his procurator, Vitrasius Pollio. But 'I deprecate,' he writes, 'the appointment of a high-priest to me and the erection of temples, for I do not wish to be offensive (*φειστικός*) to my contemporaries, and I hold that sacred fane and the like have by all ages been attributed only to the gods as peculiar honours.' He further declines the dedication of a golden statue (which had actually been made) to the *Claudiana Pax Augusta*: it is to be dedicated to Roma. As Mr. Bell asks, was the refusal inspired by a feeling that the cult of the *Pax Augusta* was inseparably associated with the memory of Augustus, and that it would be arrogance (*δὲ* *τὸ* *ἐπαυχεῖσθαι* *δοκεῖν*) in a successor to add his name to the title? Yet the Emperor, who in this letter appears so desirous of remaining a man, is spoken of in the very edict which orders its publication as a god: the prefect calls upon the Alexandrians to admire *τῇ* *μεγαλειότητι* *τοῦ* *θεοῦ* *ἐκείνου* *Καίσαρος*. Thus from the first to the Roman East the Augustan conception of the *Principate* was a phrase of little meaning. The wonder is that emperors of the stamp of Gaius and Domitian were so rare, that the Caesars sought with such consistency to swim against the stream. It is the Imperial tribute to the personality of Augustus. Mr. Bell rightly stresses the fact that it is to Augustus—not to Julius Caesar, as Kornemann has suggested—that Claudius looks back: it is the *Principate* and not the 'hellenistische Monarchie' that he would maintain. That *εὐχὴ* *αἰτερνῆς* *δουλοῦσθαι*—the temple to Claudius at Camulodunum—is, so far as we know, a solitary exception to his policy.

The Emperor turns from proffered honours to the favours sought by the Alexandrians: former privileges are confirmed: the *assessors* of the Imperial cult—the first mention for Egypt—are to be chosen by lot; municipal magistracies may in future be triennial. But the Alexandrians had asked for a senate: to this request Claudius can give no immediate answer: 'What was your custom under your former kings I cannot say, but that you had not a senate under the Augusti who have preceded me you know well.' Since, therefore, this is a new proposal of doubtful utility, the prefect is bidden to hold an inquiry, and then to inform the Emperor of its result. *ὅς* *ἐ* *ἔ* *χ* *αὖ* *λέ* *γει*: real ignorance—or diplomatic evasion (so J. G. Milne: see p. viii)? In any event the Alexandrians gained nothing from the inquiry. The question whether Alexandria had, in fact, possessed a senate under the Ptolemies is discussed by Mr. Bell (pp. 9-10).

The Emperor finally considers the question of responsibility for the Jewish disturbances, or, if one is to be frank, the *εὐλαπία*, which was their result. Claudius will not commit himself, but counsels both sides to *exercise forbearance*. The particular interest of this section of the letter lies in the fact that it tends to disprove the idea that the Jews possessed Alexandrian citizenship. A reviewer in this place can only refer to Mr. Bell's valuable discussion of the evidence and of the views of modern scholars.

The second part of the book is perhaps of even greater interest. In these papyri are preserved letters of the fourth century written by Melitian monks to their co-religionists. One of these letters can be dated precisely to the year A.D. 334, and all of them probably belong to the same decade. One papyrus (Pap. 1013) contains the appointment of a representative to govern the monastery while the superior travels on the summons of the Emperor Constantine to the Council of Caesarea: this Council had previously been dated to the year 333; we now know that it falls in the year 334. Pap. 1914 is of the highest historical importance: it may well claim to rank among the primary authorities for the ecclesiastical history of Egypt in the fourth century. Here a Melitian monk or cleric gives a full account of the tortures and sufferings inflicted upon his fellow believers by the orthodox party and by Athanasius himself, while we are given a picture of the Primate of Egypt in a mood of pitiful dejection and indecision; his luggage is packed, but he is still unable to make up his mind whether he may any longer set the Imperial will at defiance and refuse to present himself before the Council of Tyre—I entirely agree with Mr. Bell's dating of the papyrus—as he had previously refused to appear before the Council of Caesarea. All this background of Athanasian violence and tyranny we had long suspected; the evasions of Athanasius himself had suggested it (cf. Friedrich Loebe: *Zur Synode von Sardica: Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1909, pp. 274-297); it was needed to explain the action of the Eusebian party; but now for the first time the Council of Sardica and the charges made there by the Eastern bishops are put into their historical setting; the curials is raised and the action of Plinianus is seen as part of a general policy of oppression. Mr. Bell in his Introduction has admirably illustrated the significance of the papyrus for the history of the Melitian schism, and with the help of Mr. Crum has shown, I think for the first time, that the schism was an transient breach: the Melitians can be traced into the eighth century. Mr. Bell must have consulted himself upon his opportunity, and his notes and introductions are models of accurate scholarship. I have only discovered one misprint of any consequence: a reference to Otto: *Prätor und Tempel*, I. 24, 1894, might cause some confusion; read 198, note 4. In the account of the origin of the Melitian schism it might have been noticed that the temporary cessation of the persecution after the abdication of Diocletian in 305 doubtless brought into prominence the question of the treatment of the *lapidi*, of which the canonical letter of Peter (Easter, 266) was the result; for that cessation the evidence of the Edict of Toleration of Galerius might have been cited: the historical value of that Edict has often been misapprehended (e.g. by A. J. Mason: *The Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 320 sqq.). To the modern studies of the Melitian schism mentioned by Mr. Bell may now be added Karl Müllers *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Verfassung der alten Kirche*, pp. 12-21 (= *Kirchenverfassung* of *Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1922, *Abh. 3*, Berlin, 1922). For the martyrdom of Philatus, probably in 306 (p. 39), it is to be observed that this martyrdom has recently been placed by John R. Knipping in 307¹; for the return of Athanasius to Alexandria after his first exile it would still appear to me, despite the argument of H. Lietzmann (*Chronologie der ersten und zweiten Verbannung des Athanasius*, *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, xlv. (1901), pp. 380-390), that 338 and not 337 is the preferable dating². Mr. Bell has made one slip for was it the printer? when he states (p. 46) that Dalmatius held the office of censor: in his note the title *censor* is rightly given. The meaning of the reversal by Constantine of this office in the case of Dalmatius remains a riddle (cf. O. Sack: *Repetitor der Kaiser und Päpste*, p. 127). One interesting question has not been raised by Mr. Bell: how shall we explain Constantine's change of attitude towards Athanasius between the Council of Caesarea, 334, and the Council of Tyre in 335? I believe that it was between these dates that Athanasius had refused to receive into communion the reconciled Arius. Athanasius knew that his uncharitable bigotry was a fatal obstacle to Constantine's policy of conciliation. This indeed gives us the key to the Emperor's subsequent banishment of Athanasius.³

¹ *The Date of the Acts of Philatus and Philoromus*, *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi. pp. 198-203.

² I hope to support this chronology in an article to be published shortly in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

But in making use of this papyrus for historical purposes, though the facts related in the letter can hardly be doubted, Mr. Bell's warning must not be forgotten: the letter itself is an *ex parte* statement. 'Both sides were tarred with the same brush: the leaders of both were for the most part conspicuously lacking in Christian charity towards their opponents: both were apt to be disingenuous in their controversial methods, and while very quick to complain of persecution when it was directed against themselves, quite willing to practice it against others; and both were prepared to accept the help of the secular authority, though they denounced any reliance upon it by the opposite side. A fair and critical judgment between Athanasius and his opponents must rest on a consideration, not of such details, but of total personality and of the main issues at stake' (p. 58).

Of the third part of the book containing the correspondence of Paphnutius (middle of the fourth century) there is no space to speak here. This work must be read by all students of the history of the Empire: in the present review it was only possible to suggest the importance and interest of the papyri which are here published.

N. H. R.

Editionstechnik. Ratschläge für die Anlage textkritischer Ausgaben.
Völlig umgearbeitete 2te. Auflage. By OTTO STÄHLIN. Pp. vi + 112. Teubner, 1914.

This little handbook on the principles to be followed in the edition of a classical text should be in the hands of every classical scholar. It is full of wisdom and knowledge. If only editors could, for instance, agree upon a common system of textual signs, they would earn the gratitude of students: obelus-brackets < > for insertions made by the editor; square brackets [] for words or letters in the MS. which are in the opinion of the editor *supplenda*; round brackets () for parentheses; stars * * for hypothetical omissions not marked in the MS.; dots . . . for omissions in the MS. (in general each dot to mark the space for one letter left blank in the MS.). It might be thought that a book on *Editionstechnik* would be dull; this little book disproves the supposition. On some points every reader will disagree: a review would speedily become an article. In fact this is a book not to be reviewed, but to be read. It may be hoped that editors of classical and medieval texts will not only read it, but take its lessons to heart.

N. H. R.



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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

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14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15.15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates —

(a) Undergraduates.

(b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.

(c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

July, 1924

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1924—1925.

President.

MR. ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH.

Vice-Presidents.

The following ex-Presidents:

PROF. PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.R.A., 1909-10.
SIR ARTHUR EVANS, F.R.S., D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.A., 1910-12.
MR. WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., D.Litt., 1912-13.
SIR FREDERICK KENYON, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.R.A., 1913-14.

and

SIR SIDNEY COLVIN, D.Litt.
MR. L. R. FARNELL, D.Litt., F.R.A.
SIR J. G. FRAZER, D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.A.
PROF. ERNEST GARDNER, Litt.D.
MISS JANE HARRISON, D.Litt.
MR. G. F. HILL, F.R.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
MR. J. G. HOGARTH, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.R.A.
PROF. H. STUART JONES, F.R.A.
MR. H. W. LIVINGSTONE.
PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, F.R.A., D.Litt.

PROF. I. LINTON MYRES, D.Litt.
PROF. SIR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., D.D., F.R.A.
PROF. SIR WILLIAM RHIEWAY, Sc.D., F.R.A.
REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.
SIR CEDRIC HARCOURT SMITH, C.V.O., LL.D.
MRS. S. ARTHUR STRONG, Litt.D., LL.D.
SIR CHARLES WALSTON, Litt.D., Ph.D., LL.D.

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MR. N. H. BAYNES.
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MR. E. C. HOSANQUET.
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MR. W. H. BUCKLER.
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MR. A. J. D. WACE.
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Secretary, Librarian and Keeper of Photographic Collections.

MR. JOHN PENNYR, C.B.E., 25 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.1.

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MR. F. N. PRYCE. | PROF. ERNEST GARDNER. | MR. G. F. HILL.

Consultative Editorial Committee.

SIR SIDNEY COLVIN. | PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER.
PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY. | SIR FREDERICK KENYON.
And MR. A. M. WOODWARD, ex-officio as Director of the British School at Athens.

Auditors for 1924-1925.

MR. C. F. CLAY.

MR. W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

Bankers.

MESSRS. COUTTS & CO., 25 LOMBARD STREET, E.C.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Elected during the year 1924 only.

† Life Members.

- Alexander, Mrs. Kathleen, 30, Guilford Street, W.C. 1.
 Anson, Miss Marjory C., 10, Foster Road, Alverstone, Hants.
 Arnistead, Miss Emily, 50, Grove End Road, N.W. 8.
 Baker, Squadron Leader G. B. A., Officers' Mess, Hulton House, Nr. Wendover, Bucks.
 Barclay, Miss Y., Islandbank, Inverness.
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 Brangham, H. A. M., 4, Snaith Avenue, Golders Green, N.W. 11.
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 Carter, J. H., Wretham House, Withycomb, Exmouth.
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 Frost, Rev. P. R., St. John's College, Durham.
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 Hopkinson, Austin, M.P., 40, Great Smith Street, Westminster.
 Hoste, Miss M. R., Clovelly Cottage, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.
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 Jolliffe, Miss N. C., The Ladies' College, Cheltenham.
 † Keen, H. H., Balliol College, Oxford.
 Keen, R. C. B., Fernside, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
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 Lee, E. D., 21, Church Road, Allahabad.
 † Lewis, J. Spedan, Chairman's Office, Peter Jones, S.W. 1.
 Lewis, Mrs. Spedan, North Hall, Mortimer Crescent, St. John's Wood, N.W.
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 Nicholson, Miss J., The High School, Kidderminster.
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 Patton, Miss E. R., 25, Landaleton Road, Sidcup, Kent.
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 Richardson, G. W., The University, Leeds.
 Rogers, Miss M. D., 199, Goldhurst Terrace, N.W. 6.

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 Sowden, Miss M. E., 62, *Essexdine Mansions, Maida Vale, W.* 9.
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 White, Miss Hilda W., 20, *Blackburn Avenue, Bridlington.*
 Whiteley, S., *Rhodes University, Grahamstown, S. Africa.*
 Wood, Miss M. B., *c/o Barclay's Bank, Chertsey.*
 Woodward, Miss A., *University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

STUDENT ASSOCIATES.

Elected during the year 1924 only.

- Baines, H. W., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
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 Brook, N. C., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
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 Hopkinson, Th., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
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 Longden, R. P., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Lushington, Miss D. G., *The Hill, Caversham, Reading.*
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 Moon, Miss Noel, 62, *Montague Square, W.* 1.
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 Railkes, Miss E., 63, *Woodstock Road, N.W.* 13.
 Syers, C. G. L., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Toyné, Gabriel, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 Turtón, G. E., *Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 Turtón, R. H., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 White, Stephen Graham, *Reble College, Oxford.*

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Elected during the year 1924 only.

- Abd.**, The Library of the University, *Abd. Finland.*
Bedford, The Library of the Girls' Modern School, *Bedford*. [Miss A. P. Chiford, Librarian.]
Chicago, The Ryerson Library, *Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.*
Clapham, The Library of the High School for Girls, 63, *South Side, Clapham Common, S.W.* 4. [Miss E. M. Virgo, Librarian.]
Leeds, The Library of the University, *Leeds.*
Leeds, The Library of Cockburn High School, *Leeds.*
Miami, The Library of Miami University, *Oxford, Ohio, U.S.A.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1923-1924

DURING the past Session the following Meetings were held:—

- (1) November 6th, 1923. Sir Arthur Evans: *Recent Excavations at Knossos* (see below, p. XX).
- (2) December 11th, 1923 (Students' Meeting). Prof. J. P. Droop: *Red-figured Vases* (see below, p. XX).
- (3) February 12th, 1924. Dr. Louis W. Sambon: *Ancient preventive medicine* (see below, p. XX).
- (4) March 14th, 1924 (Students' Meeting). Mr. D. S. Robertson: *Ancient Architecture* (see below, p. XXI).
- (5) May 13th, 1924. Miss E. R. Price: *Early pottery of Nankiatz* (see J.H.S. XLIV, p. 180).
- (6) The ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House, on Tuesday, June 24th, 1924. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President of the Society, taking the chair. He announced the election of the new President, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, and of the Vice-Presidents and Members of the Council in accordance with the list circulated before the meeting.

Mr. Smith having briefly acknowledged the honour done him, Miss C. A. Hutton, Hon. Secretary of the Society, moved the adoption of the following Report for the Session 1923-24:—

THE COUNCIL beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded:—

Last year the Council had to chronicle a drop of forty in the membership of the Society—on this occasion they are able to say that the drop has been recovered and that there are in addition 42 Student Associates to be counted. Apart from the 26 Hon. Members the figures for the two years are:—

	June, 1923.	June, 1924.
Members	1,280	1,318
Student Associates	—	42
Libraries	263	270
Total	1,543	1,630

The most satisfactory feature in the above not unsatisfactory statement is the arrival of 42 Student Associates. While the Council welcome these as a first and substantial instalment, they are confident that if our Professors and other teachers would bear the new arrangement in mind and bring it from time to time to the notice of their Students, the number would be largely increased.

More cannot be said than that the movement is on its trial and promises well, unless it is to add that the new class should be more punctual than it is in the matter of subscriptions.

The Council notice and fully appreciate the help given by some members in obtaining recruits, both as ordinary members and Student Associates. There is indeed no other way of ensuring the healthy future of the Society.

Obituary.—In the course of the session the Society has sustained the loss by death of Sir Samuel Dill, Mr. Jay Hambidge, Sir Henry Howarth, Professor W. P. Ker and Sir Henry Babington Smith. Quite recently it shares with the School at Athens the untimely loss of a student of rare promise, Mr. S. S. Clarke.

Changes on the Council, etc.—The only change which it is necessary under the rules to make is the most important of all, as it concerns the Presidency of the Society. Sir Frederic Kenyon's term of office now draws to a close and he carries with him the grateful goodwill of the Society over which he has presided for five years.

The Council think it no small thing that the head of the great national Museum, officially preoccupied with administration and with the difficult questions of international archaeology and with his own work as a scholar to pursue, should have found the time and interest to bring clear judgment and wise counsels to all our affairs, to deliver a noteworthy series of annual addresses and to give care and kindness to all concerned in carrying on the Society's work.

The Council has particular pleasure in nominating Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith as President for the next period of five years. Mr. Smith has but now completed another of his many services to the Society since its foundation by the preparation of an index of the last twenty-six volumes of the *Journal*. The Society is warmly indebted both to him and to Mrs. Smith, who was associated with him in the work.

Mr. E. J. Paradyke has recently retired from the Editorship of the *Journal* and the Society will endorse the appreciation which the Council has recently expressed of the care and skill which he has long devoted to its edition. The Council are pleased to inform the Society that Mr. F. N. Pryce has been appointed Editor.

Dr. K. Kourouniotis of the National Museum at Athens has recently been created an Honorary Member of the Society.

Relations with Other Bodies.—The Council have noticed with regret the resignation of Mr. R. Gardner from the office of Secretary to the sister Society. His able and considerate collaboration will be missed by the management. They are already indebted to the goodwill and zeal of his successor, Miss M. V. Taylor. They hear with interest of the successful excavations at Sparta conducted by the Director of the British School at Athens (Mr. A. M. Woodward) and of the progress of the *Historical Atlas of Italy*, an important piece of work in the hands of the Archaeological Faculty of the British School at Rome. They tender their congratulations to their distinguished colleague, Sir Arthur Evans, on his renewed success in wresting the secrets of the Minoan past from the apparently inexhaustible soil of Knossos.

The Sub-Committee for the Popularisation of the Classics.—The Sub-Committees appointed by the two Societies for the popularisation of classical studies have issued a second edition of the *Claim of Antiquity*, a shilling pamphlet with an annotated list of the most useful and accessible books for those who, without being scholars, have come under the spell of ancient art and literature. This revision they owe to their chairman, Mr. N. H. Baynes. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained through the ordinary channels or from the Library. The Hellenic Sub-Committee has, with the Council's approval, arranged a course of popular lectures by distinguished lecturers for the forthcoming session. By kind invitation these lectures will be held at various educational centres in London. Members will receive particulars later in the year. The Sub-Committees are now conjointly considering what help archaeology can give the teacher of classics. The point is far from being a new one, but the committees have the experience of those who have long given care to a difficult problem to guide them, and they hope to be able to make some practical recommendations, probably in the form of leaflets to be combined later in a second monograph.

The Joint Library and Photographic Collections :—The progress made in this department of the Society's work is recorded in the following figures, covering (a) a pre-war Session, (b) last Session, (c) the Session just concluded.

	(a) 1912-13	(b) 1922-23	(c) 1923-24
Books added to the Library	489	727*	354
Books borrowed	938	5,940	1,937
Slides added to the Collections ..	363	614	523
Slides borrowed	3,578	9,716	12,864
Slides sold	506	1,751	1,047
Photographs sold	343	304	282

The Council acknowledge with thanks recently published books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Academia Romana di Bucaresti, the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, the American Academy in Rome, the Catholic University of America, the Archaeological Academy and the Hermitage Museum of Petrograd, l'Association Guillaume Budé, the Anglo-Hellenic League, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the Byzantine Research Fund, the Colchester Museum, the Classical Association, the Media Society, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Österreichische Archäologische Institut, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, St. Andrews University, Uppsala University, the University Presses of Cambridge, Columbia, Illinois, Liverpool, Oxford and Toronto.

Acknowledgment is also made to the following publishing houses: Messrs. J. Abel, Alferi & Lacroix, Josef Altman, C. H. Beck, Fratelli Bocca, E. de Bocrand, Librairie V. Plo-Poul Branner, J. Cape, E. Champion, Thos. Cook, J. M. Dent, Dieterich, Duckworth, Franzens, G. Harrap & Co., Marcel Hayez, Hersemann, Hirzel, Hölzel & Co., E. Leroux, Luzac & Co., Macdonald & Evans, Macmillan & Co., Macmillan Co. (New York), Martinus Nijhoff, Faith Press, Felix Meiner, Methuen, Humphrey Milford, John Murray, Oliver & Boyd, Paravia & Co., Payot, Picard, G. Parnum, Seldwyla, Spink & Son, A. W. Sijthoff, Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, Teubner, E. Wasmuth, A. Marcus & E. Weber, Weidmann, Werner-Rehm, Winter and N. Zanichelli.

The following have also kindly given books: Prof. A. Andréadès, Dr. A. S. Arbanitopoulos, Dr. T. Ashby, W. H. Buckler, Prof. H. E. Butler, M. Cary, O. G. S. Crawford, Prof. E. Diehl, Prof. T. Fitzhugh, W. W. Flint, R. Gardner, G. H. Hallam, Prof. W. R. Halliday, G. D. Hardinge-Tyler, Dr. D. G. Hogarth, G. H. Jacks, E. L. Kennaway, T. Kingdon, M. L. W. Laistner, H. Lang Jones, Rev. L. Laurand, Prof. Vilh. Lundström, M. Jean Malye, Mr. & Mrs. J. Grafton Milne, Dr. G. P. Oeconomus, Felix Oswald, Prof. Paribeni, Miss Penoyze, Prof. J. S. Reid, Miss G. M. Richter, Prof. H. Rose, Dr. Louis Sambon, Dr. P. Schoch, A. H. Smith, Robinson Smith, Prof. F. Stutakahn, A. I. Svoronos, W. W. Tarn, M. S. Thompson, Prof. Tillyard, Dr. A. Turyn, Miss Virtue Webb, A. J. R. Wace, H. B. Walters, R. C. S. Walters, Dr. O. Walthaner, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, Prof. A. Wilhelm, E. Wooler, and F. A. Wright.

Among the more important accessions are Coze, Hauser and Niemann *Samothrake*, Chomy *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains*, Coze's great work in 4 volumes on Attic grave reliefs, a new collection of plates on Greek vase painting with a text by G. von Lücken, E. M. W. Tillyard's catalogue of the vases in the Hope Collection, the first volume of S. W. Grosse's catalogue of the McClean collection of Greek coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Anatolian studies presented to Sir

* This figure includes the donation by Lady Sandys of books from the library of the late Sir John Sandys.

William Ramsay, and, small in scale but most welcome to students of Roman Britain, the late Professor Haverfield's Ford Lectures. The Society owes to Dr. Waldhauer's good offices important sections of the recent publications of the Hermitage Museum and also Rostoytzeff's work on ancient painting in S. Russia and Smirnov's atlas of plates of Eastern silver.

The chief event in the Library year has been the recent publication of the Classified Catalogue, for which the cordial thanks of the Society must be given to the Librarian. Members will find the classification useful for any branch of classical study: moreover, its purchase by them will reduce the not inconsiderable expense incurred in its publication.

In the photographic department the Society is indebted to the following for the gift of negatives: Mrs. Braunholtz, Prof. J. B. Bury, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, the Rev. W. H. David, Capt. J. Farrell, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. E. N. Gardiner, Mr. R. Gardner, Mr. N. Henton, Miss M. E. Holland, Mr. J. C. Milne, Prof. H. J. Rose, Dr. L. N. Sambon, Mr. J. V. Saunders, Miss M. E. Sowden, Mr. M. S. Thompson, and Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

The figures quoted at the head of this section show the utility of the collection of lantern slides under Mr. Wace's painstaking management. The extraordinary number of slides borrowed during the session (nearly thirteen thousand) is partly due to the success of the new sets of slides, issued complete with texts, for popular lectures. Members may like to see the complete list of these with the names of those who have been good enough to undertake their compilation. They are as follows:—

Ready and in Use.

The Geography of Greece (A. J. Toynbee).	The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).
Ancient Architecture (D. S. Robertson).	The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
Greek Sculpture (J. Penoyre).	The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).
The Parthenon (A. H. Smith).	The Via Appia (R. Gardner).
Greek Vases (M. A. B. Braunholtz).	The Roman Campagna (T. Ashby).
Some Coins of Sicily (G. F. Hill).	Roman Portraiture (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).
Greek Papyri (H. I. Bell).	Horace (G. H. Hallam).
Olympia and Greek Athletics (E. N. Gardiner).	Pompeii (A. van Buren).
The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).	Ostia (T. Ashby).
Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).	Timgad (H. E. Butler).
The Travels of St. Paul (no text).	Roman Britain (Mortimer Wheeler).
Sicily (H. E. Butler).	

Promised.

The Prehellenic Age (E. J. Forsdyke).	The Roman Wall (R. G. Collingwood).
Ancient Athens (S. Casson).	Daily Life, Greek (E. J. Forsdyke).
Vases of the red-figured period (J. D. Beazley).	Daily Life, Roman (E. J. Forsdyke).
	Rome (H. M. Last).

The Society owes much to the Association of Friends of the Library which has given invaluable help during the session. This body now consists of Mr. E. P. Bailly, Mrs. Harge, Mrs. Calley, Miss Genre, Mrs. Milne, Miss Nash, Mrs. Newall and Miss Virtue-Tebbs. Many members would be surprised to learn how much of the facilities which they enjoy are really due to the patient help thus contributed. Probably there are others resident in London who would be willing to lend a hand if they realised how welcome they would be. There will be room and need for additional Friends in the autumn.

General Meetings.—The following Meetings have been held in the course of the Session:—

On November 6th, 1923, Sir Arthur Evans described his recent excavations at Knossos. Of exceptional interest were the contents of a Minoan house excavated on the West Palace border and belonging to an ordinary burgher of Knossos about 1600 B.C. Stacked in a basement room lay the remains of its painted plaster-decoration, panels of which it has thus been possible to restore. Coloured slides of this were shown, which brought out the extraordinary brilliance of the work—unexampled in this material—as well as its great naturalistic beauty. It included, besides marine fishes, rocky landscapes with a great variety of flowers, in the midst of which were blue birds and monkeys from the Sudan realistically drawn. Amongst the flowers was the first representation of a rose by over a thousand years, while a 'jet d'eau' from another panel is by far the earliest known fountain of this kind. Some apartments had been covered with painted inscriptions of the advanced Cretan linear-script, and an inscribed stone libation basin also came to light together with five painted vases presenting the sacred double axe of the goddess.

In a somewhat later stratum, dating from about 1500 B.C., occurred part of a small painted frieze showing a Minoan Captain leading black troops. Minoan would seem to have rebelled on his 'Senegalese' to hold down occupied territories in Mainland Greece, and it is perhaps worth recalling that the next important historical event at Knossos was the destruction of the Great Palace.

After observations from Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Dr. H. R. Hall, Dr. Hogarth, who occupied the chair, expressed to Sir Arthur the thanks and interest of the audience.

- (2) On December 11th, Professor E. Droop gave, at a students' meeting, a demonstration on Red-figured Vases, based on the lantern slides available in this section of the Society's collection. His lecture followed naturally on Mr. Forsdyke's exposition of the Prehellenic Vase material and Mrs. Colley's treatment of the Black-figured Vase slides from the same source. After a general survey of the development of drawing by the masters of the Red-figured period, Professor Droop discussed in detail the well-known amphora in Munich representing the tale of the rape of Oreithyia. This, together with its replica in Berlin, had been assigned by Furtwängler to the painter Makron. A detailed consideration of its technique, however, had led the speaker to see in it a piece of conscious archaism, a harking back to the date and method of Euthymides. 'A painter of the middle or latter part of the fifth century, in disgust perhaps at the looseness and carelessness of contemporary free work, made an effort to return to the stylistic formalism of the old masters. For this occasion at least he would go back to the old purer tradition. He produced a magnificent drawing, but he had been betrayed by details, by touches of his usual methods of which he could not, or did not trouble to, divest himself.' The paper, of which the foregoing is an extract, has been published in the tenth volume of the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*.
- (3) On February 12th, 1924, the Society had the pleasure of hearing a paper from Dr. Louis W. Sambon, of the London Tropical School of Medicine, on Ancient Preventive Medicine. Beginning with a general review of ancient science, the speaker recounted the inquiries of the early Ionian physicists as to the origin and nature of matter and emphasised the similarity of their conclusions to the results of the most modern research. In the sphere of medicine they found in the early Mediterranean systems of draining and sanitation in use that were only now being revived and brought to perfection. The rat was known as the carrier of the plague, the study of parasites was a recognised branch of medical science, the aseptic as against the suppurative treatment of wounds was taught by Hippocrates, and the use of anaesthetics was common. Rediscovered and placed on a practical basis for all mankind by Jenner, vaccination and variolation had been in use in early India and China. The antiquity of such forms of human food and drink as bread, cheese, wine, meal, beer, cyder, koumiss and vinegar attests man's early knowledge of the

principles of fermentation. In the sphere of arboriculture Theophrastus describes the pollination by hand of the date palm and the fig. The sterilising of wine by heat was practised, and the lecturer showed a lump of ancient solidified wine from Boscoreale, the bouquet of which was at once perceptible under friction.

Dr. Sambon's lecture was illustrated further by his own collection of votive terra-cottas and medical instruments. The terra-cottas comprised models of practically every part of the human figure and were dedicated in temples in gratitude for cures vouchsafed. The majority of the instruments shown were found near Lake Trasimene, the scene of Hannibal's victory in the summer of 217. Among the forceps, retractors, probes and dissectors lay a hairpin, terminating in a tiny female bust of fine workmanship. Beneath the spell of these veridigised instruments Dr. Sambon pictured 'a young army surgeon trampled to death in the charge of the Punic cavalry—and in far-away Rome a maiden whose hairpin he had treasured mourning his loss.'

Sir Frederic Kenyon tendered the thanks of the audience to Dr. Sambon for his eloquent communication.

- (4) On March 14th, the second student's meeting was, by kind invitation, held at Westminster School. Mr. D. S. Robertson gave at this meeting a sketch of Ancient Architecture which he had recently written to form one of the Society's sets of slides, accompanied by texts, to illustrate the most striking aspects of ancient life. The Society is much indebted to those scholars and archaeologists who, like Mr. Robertson, have helped in this movement. The thanks of the audience were tendered to the Headmaster for the hospitality of Westminster School.
- (5) On May 13th, Miss E. R. Price communicated a detailed study of the Early Pottery of Nankratia. Prof. Ernest Gardner contributed some slides of the excavations (1886-7) and Dr. Hogarth, who occupied the chair, laid stress on the importance of the study of Nankratite ware for its Asian connexions. Miss Price's researches will be published in the Society's *Journal*.

Finance.—It is very gratifying to find for the second year in succession that the Income and Expenditure Account shows a small balance on the right side. Receipts from the subscriptions of Members and Libraries, including Entrance Fees and Life Compositions brought into revenue account, are a little better in total. The receipts from the sale and hire of slides are slightly better, and as expenditure in this department has been less than usual, the result produces a very satisfactory balance for the revenue account. The cost of the *Journal* is some £50 less than last year, owing to a reduction in the amount spent on engraving. The printing bill is rather higher, but it must be borne in mind that this includes the cost of the Index to Volumes XVII-XLII. Receipts from the sales of the *Journal* are lower owing to the sale of back volumes in the preceding year being unusually high. The ordinary working expenses do not show any variation worthy of notice, and the Council think the Financial Statement may on the whole be regarded as very satisfactory.

One other feature calls for mention, and that is the fact that the Endowment Fund has been increased by donations amounting to £28 during the year. It is pleasing to know that this Fund has not been forgotten. It is nearly twenty years since it was started with a view of providing a source of fixed revenue to the Society. The total received now exceeds £900, of which £800 has been invested and a further £100 will be invested shortly. It is hoped that this Fund will be considerably augmented as time goes on by donations and bequests from Members of the Society wishing to strengthen its permanent resources in this way. On behalf of the Society the Council thank those who have already contributed.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Mr. E. Bell and, being put to the Meeting, carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Society's Auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F.

Macmillan, moved by Prof. Ernest Gardner and seconded by Mr. H. I. Bell, was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered the following valedictory address:—

The Annual Report which has been circulated, and which will presently be submitted for your approval, records a year of normal healthy activity and progress, without many outstanding incidents. Our losses by death, one notices with thankfulness, have been fewer than in some recent years, and include no one whose chief eminence was in Hellenic studies. Two of the names which we shall miss from our list of members with special regret were men with an extraordinarily wide range of interests and of knowledge. Sir Henry Howorth was a constant attendant at our meetings, as he was at the meetings of other learned societies. His active mind ranged with equal zest from the Glacial Age to the latest Reform Bill, and he was at home with the mammoth, the Mongol, the Septuagint, the early English Church, and the painters of the Renaissance. He delighted in controverting received opinions, and if his suggestions were not always accepted they generally provoked salutary discussion.

Prof. W. P. Ker was not primarily a classical scholar, but he sympathised with everything that was fine and of good report, and with him sympathy always meant generous support if it was needed. There is no society in which Prof. Ker was known, which does not feel that it has lost a friend of peculiar quality by his death.

Of the other names mentioned in the Report little need be said, for they carry their own commentary. In Sir Samuel Dill we have lost a veteran, full of years and honours; in Mr. S. S. Clarke a young recruit of the highest charm, comparable to so many of those whose loss the country had to mourn in 1914-18, and whom it still misses. Sir Henry Babington Smith was a scholar who carried his great gifts into public life, as it is good and right that a scholar should do: while Mr. Jay Hambidge we remember as a guest from America with an intriguing theory which he developed with captivating earnestness and enthusiasm.

I do not propose to attempt a survey of the work of the year in Hellenic studies. That task is performed in various periodicals with greater fullness than would here be possible, and in a more serviceable form. But there are one or two events to which a reference would be proper. And first it is right that we should notice, with congratulation and gratitude, the performance by our late President of the share which he had undertaken in the enterprise which he committed to the Society's charge, an edition of Strabo with full commentary. It is greatly to be wished that his example will stimulate others among the very small band of scholars who are competent to deal with the subject to undertake further portions of it, or will inspire some young student to take Strabo as the subject of his life's work. As I ventured to suggest last year, we need more scholars who will undertake works on the grand scale; and now that relations with Turkey have been re-established, it may be hoped that work will be renewed (as it is already being renewed by Prof. Calder) in the fruitful field of Asia Minor.

We have also to welcome the achievements of another among our former Presidents—Sir Arthur Evans. His generous gift of his property in Crete belongs rather to our friends (or ourselves in another capacity) at the School at Athens; but his recently announced discoveries of yet further surprises at Knossos appeal directly to ourselves. We congratulate him on his success, and are divided between our appetite for more and our desire that he may have time to record all that he has so brilliantly achieved in the past.

In connexion with these extensions of our knowledge of Homeric and pre-Homeric Greece, I may be permitted to call attention to the unexpected light that has been thrown upon them by Dr. Forrer's researches among the Hittite tablets from Boghaz-keui. Among these documents he has found names which bear very strong resemblances to certain names with which we are very familiar—

Achaia, Aeolia, Lesbos, Eteocles, Andreus, Atreus.* The resemblances are too numerous to be attributable to chance, and there is nothing in the information to be derived from these tablets which is irreconcilable with our other knowledge. Accepting these identifications, we find that the king of Achaia was recognised by the king of the Hittites as a brother sovereign from about 1330 B.C.: that he was an Aeolian, and ruled over Lesbos as well as Achaia; that Andreus was king of these lands about 1330-25; that his son and successor Eteocles ruled about 1325; that about 1250 the king of Achaia was Atreus, whose attempts to make himself master of Caria were resisted by Hittite troops. These are not all the points made by Dr. Forrer; but they will be recognised as sufficiently attractive to deserve the most careful attention, and I am bound to say that the *prima facie* case made out by him appears to me very strong.

Two other publications must be mentioned, because our Society is so intimately concerned with them. The first is the Index to Vols. XVII-XLII of the Journal, which we owe to Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Smith. You will be invited in a few minutes to show your appreciation of this and all the innumerable other services rendered by Mr. Smith to the Society, by electing him as your next President, and I suppose I may be permitted to reveal that the Council has just been engaged in trying to express to Mrs. Smith their appreciation of the assistance which she has given to her husband and of her good-will towards the Society.

The other publication is the Classified Catalogue of the Society's library, which is the gift—the very generous gift—to the Society of our devoted Librarian, Mr. Penoyre. I am sure the Society will wish to express their gratitude to Mr. Penoyre for a work involving so much labour, which will greatly increase the value of the library which has grown up under his fostering care.

The present address is described in the programme of our meeting as a Valedictory Address; and it is so in the sense that this is the last occasion on which I shall have the honour of addressing the Society as its President. It is not, I hope, the conclusion of my membership of, or service to, the Society; still less is it a farewell to Greek studies, the attraction of which, I find, only grows with advancing years, and is only stimulated by the fact that they have to be of the nature of a recreation, and not the main staple of one's daily work. But the title authorises me to take this opportunity to thank the Society for the honour which they have conferred on me for a period which by the calendar is five years, though it seems to me much shorter, the honour of the highest position that a Greek scholar can hold as such in this country, unless I should make exception of the offices held by my friends Prof. Gilbert Murray and Prof. Pearson. I could wish that I had been more regular in my attendances; but nothing less than the most urgent claims of other duties has kept me away; and in all my deficiencies I have comforted myself with the reflection that the prosperity of this Society is in the hands, the very capable hands, of its strenuous and devoted permanent officials, not in those of an ephemeral President. As a Civil Servant, I am tempted to see here a parallel with the public services of the nation.

But the fact that this is a Valedictory Address further authorises me to give to it some character of retrospect and prospect, to use this chair, for the last time, as a pulpit. One is led to look back over the last five years, and to ask whether one can discern any change in the character or position of Hellenic studies, and to look forward, and ask whether any forecast can be made of their future. The sermon will not be long; but at least it will be a deliberate confession of faith.

So far as I am competent to form an opinion, if there is any one characteristic development of Hellenic studies during the last five years, it is their progress outside the ring-fence of their own province. Formerly that province was a special preserve.

* The equations are: Ahišjawa = Ἀχιζῶα, a-ja-va-la-as = αἰζολᾶς, Larbas = Λαίρβας, Ta-va-ga-la-va-as = (E)τέφωλεαῖς = Ἐτεωλῆς, Antaravas = Ἀντάρων, Attarissijus = Ἀτρεΐς.

This conception of the philosopher-king, or, as we should translate it into modern prose, of the highly-educated statesman or the scholar-citizen, is by no means alien from the best traditions of English public life. Not only have many of our greatest statesmen been scholars or men of letters, but many of our greatest scholars have also been men of affairs. In the one category we can reckon Bolingbroke, Cartwright, Sheffburne, Fox, Burke, Gladstone, Disraeli, Derby, Cromer, Balfour, Asquith and Milner; in the other, Grote, Mill, Jebb, Butler, and my own immediate predecessor in the chair of this Society, who is no less eminent in the world of finance than in the world of scholarship. Others, of whom Bryce and Morley are the most conspicuous examples among those who have recently left us, and Trevelyan (following the example of his great uncle) among those who remain, have played so great a part in both spheres that one hesitates in which class to place them. Personally I am inclined to regard them rather as great men of letters who have deemed it their duty to take their part in politics, and so to place their intellectual gifts at the service of the nation.

I believe that this conception needs to be emphasised on both sides, the interest and duty of the State, and the interest and duty of the scholar. An eminent living philosopher-politician is never tired of reiterating the need for more thought in public life: a recent Prime Minister has lamented the difficulty of finding time for it. I believe they are right. I believe that a State needs the services of the best brains, devoted to the disinterested thinking out of the problems which beset the welfare of society. And the counterpart of this is that the public should respect knowledge and should look to its best thinkers for guidance. The war taught many who did not realise it before the need for good staff-work—for the careful accumulation of information, and the passionless, detailed working out of its results by the few minds that were available. We need such staff-work not less in peace; and to my mind one of the greatest needs of our public service is the strengthening of the thinking, as distinct from the purely administrative, element in our public departments. The State, and the great industries of the nation no less, need the best brains, highly educated, and given time in which to work.

The strength and stimulation of the claim of classical studies is, to my mind, that it can render this service to the community. I do not say that every scholar should be a politician. I do contend that a classical training is the one which best fits a man to play his part as a citizen, and to place a trained faculty at the service of the community. Greek thought, Roman experience, are the foundations of our modern life, and the study of them is the best training for the treatment of modern problems. That the study of Greek and Latin is a training for citizenship, and not merely for a high kind of literary or artistic enjoyment, is a doctrine which, however little it needs to be emphasised to an audience such as the present, assuredly needs constant reiteration in the world at large. And in order that the world may be impressed, the scholar needs to take his vocation seriously, and to claim his rights and, still more, his duties as a citizen.

I do not want to be understood to depreciate the type which may be described without offence as the mere scholar, the scholar who devotes himself to research or study of a specialist kind. Very far from it. Just as the progress of applied science depends on the disinterested researches of specialists working without thought save for the solution of the purely scientific problem before them, so the progress of what may be called the applied humanities depends on the disinterested researches of specialists in literature, in art, in philosophy, in history, through whose labours the truth is recovered as to that civilisation and that thought which we maintain to be of such vital value to our modern world. The root of the wider life and greater sphere of influence which we claim for classical studies will always be the healthy growth of the subject itself. Some of us (I fear I ought rather to say you) will be engaged in the intensive cultivation of Hellenic studies; and it is for their assistance and encouragement that our Society exists and is needed. Others (or the same) will take the opportunities that may be given them to carry

the lessons of these studies out into life. For both of these classes I claim the respect of the public: respect for the cloistered scholar who is engaged in advancing the knowledge of his subject, and respect for the scholar who is trying to apply that knowledge to the service of his countrymen.

Perhaps I may be allowed to illustrate my thesis, and to elaborate my creed, by a reference to that archaeology which is one of the principal interests of this Society, and to that representation of it in museums which happens to be one of the principal concerns of my daily life. Among the developments of recent years I should certainly be disposed to include a marked increase of public interest in archaeology, and an increased readiness, and even eagerness, of our great museums and galleries to play their part in the education of the people, and to place their resources and their knowledge at its service. A symptom, and a very welcome symptom, of the former is the readiness, and again I may say even the eagerness, of that very sensitive recorder of the taste of the public, the Press, to publish archaeological information as to new discoveries and new views. Indeed I should like to take this opportunity of publicly expressing my own appreciation of the assistance given by the Press, both in making public information with regard to the natural collections which we believe to be important and interesting, and also in promoting the welfare of the national collections by all means within their power. The directors of our great newspapers are for the most part fully alive to the service which the national museums and galleries can render to the intellectual advance of the nation, and the readiness which they show to keep themselves in touch with our developments is both the effect and in part the cause of the increased interest taken by the public.

On the other hand, it is unquestionably the case that the museums are doing more than in previous generations to adapt themselves to the needs of the public, and to make themselves an important part in the educational system of the nation. Their activities have taken various forms—fuller descriptive labelling, guide-books which aim not merely at cataloguing the objects exhibited, but at making the whole subject which they illustrate clear and interesting to the ordinary reader, lantern-slides, photographs and classified groups of postcards at the lowest possible price, but above all the provision of Guide-Lecturers of a high class. This new class of instructor, composed of men themselves highly educated and capable, on the one hand, of appreciating the full doctrine of the specialists, and on the other of interpreting it to hearers of every class, has greatly extended the utility of museums, and has added a fresh weapon to the armoury of education. Their task is not an easy one, especially when it has to be performed in public galleries through which visitors are constantly passing, and subject to various kinds of interruption, but the welcome and appreciation with which their services have been received (at any rate by all except their paymasters) show how much they were needed. By their means, reinforced by the various appliances and devices that have been enumerated, a visit to a museum or a picture-gallery need no longer be to the slightly educated a desultory wandering among uncomprehended objects which can at most provoke wonder but cannot increase knowledge, but may be, and often is, an introduction to a new world of information and a widening of the circle of intellectual interests.

In this widening classical, and especially Hellenic, studies have their share, because our galleries (particularly, of course, the British Museum) place before the eyes of the visitor many examples of Greek art at its best and most beautiful; but our museums cannot by themselves do all that is necessary and possible for spreading a knowledge of classical culture and establishing its intimate connexion with the problems of our own day. For this purpose perhaps the most powerful engine is the organization which began under the title of University Extension, and has within the last few years taken on the more systematic form of Tutorial Classes. These lectures and classes provide a means of making known the substance, if

not the letter and the full flavour, of classical literature and history in strata of society which have hitherto been untouched by them. The work is only in its infancy; but taken up, as it now is, not only by the two older universities but by all the provincial universities and university colleges throughout Great Britain, and supported by subsidies from the Government grants, it is bound to become an increasingly powerful engine for the spreading of humanistic culture. What concerns us, as advocates and devotees of the classics, is to see that classical studies hold their due place in the system, and that university-trained scholars are forthcoming who will devote themselves to the task of interpreting antiquity to the present. It is a work of much promise and of great value, and classical scholars must look to it as one of their methods of propaganda.

For our own Society, the first duty is to promote the advance of Greek studies in and by themselves, to play our part in the production of the highest scholarship, which will enable this country to take its full share in the general advancement of knowledge in this particular department. For this purpose our organs are the Journal, our Library, and such contributions as we are able to make to excavation and research. In all these respects we can look with satisfaction at the developments of recent years, and can offer our tributes of thanks to those who have made them possible, to the Editors and contributors to the Journal and our devoted Secretary and Librarian. But we can also make our contribution, and have not neglected to make our contribution, to that work of popularisation of which I have been more particularly speaking. The series of popular or students' lectures, the maintenance and extension of our great collection of lantern-slides which can be utilised by classical teachers (if only they will perform the elementary duty of becoming members of our Society) all over the country, and the labours of our committee which, in co-operation with the Roman Society and the Classical Association, has produced the pamphlet on the Claims of Antiquity and made other valuable recommendations—all these are activities of our Society which have shown that we have not neglected the task of widening the basis and extending the appeal of Hellenic studies throughout the country.

There is one other direction in which progress has been made in recent years, but in which, as it seems to me, further progress is possible and desirable. This is in co-operation with our colleagues in other subjects. I say that progress has been made, because I think that one of the encouraging symptoms of the last ten years has been a marked decrease of jealousy and hostility between the representatives of various branches of learning, and a growth of the sense that we are all in the same boat and all have to pull together against the sea of troubles arising from ignorance and a distaste for education. Science no more envies the Humanities—at least not much—and modern studies no more vex the classics. All agree that all these diverse elements have their proper place in popular education, and that the welfare of one is, under proper arrangements, the welfare of all. But this mutual understanding and co-operation should, I think, be carried farther. In particular, an alliance between Classics and History and English studies should not be difficult. No historian can deny that an acquaintance with ancient history is essential for the full comprehension of modern history and of modern social and economic problems; and no student of English literature can maintain that anything like a complete appreciation of it is possible for a reader unacquainted with its basis and inspiration in Greek and Latin. What is needed is that classical scholars should place themselves at the disposal of their modern colleagues in order to assist them in conveying something of the essence of classical literature and history to students who have not the time or the taste or the ability to become masters of the classical languages, and also to inculcate at all convenient seasons the desirability that those who are going to become teachers of modern history or English or modern languages should be properly grounded for their task by a knowledge of Greek and Latin.

We have, indeed, in addition to the task of promoting the progress of Hellenic studies in and for themselves, a privilege and a duty: the privilege of knowing (though we must not say it too often outside) that we consort with the aristocracy of learning and education, and the duty of pressing our claims on the authorities who control education. This is a duty which we must not forget or neglect. Until quite recently the classics were protected by the privileged position that they held at the older universities. It was quite natural then that educational authorities should consider themselves bound to encourage the subjects, such as natural science and modern languages, which had only recently entered the curriculum. Time had to be found for them; pecuniary assistance given to those who took them up, and encouragement given to able boys and girls who had aptitudes in these directions, such as our forefathers had provided for students in classics. Now the boot is on the other leg. Greek is no longer protected by privilege, while it is handicapped by its difficulty, and by its lack, in the eyes of the insufficiently educated, of obvious material advantages. Hence it is now incumbent on education authorities to see that a subject of such recognised and transcendent value should not disappear from our national civilisation. That value was never more explicitly and more generally recognised than now. It has been proclaimed by men of eminence in every walk in life, by men whose own studies have lain in other directions, but who have recognised that no better foundation exists, for almost any kind of study or activity, than that which is laid in the classics. But the habits of generations are hard to break; and because it has been the habit to consider the classics as sufficiently provided for, education authorities have not yet realised that the changed conditions require a change in policy. Hence the necessity, which those who are responsible for and love the classics are under, to impress on education authorities the duty which lies on them to safeguard so essential an element in national culture, to secure the necessary opportunities for those who have the taste and aptitude for classical studies, and to see to it that those who have them not shall at least learn something of the lessons which the classical literatures and history can teach better than their modern successors.

In this respect foreign nations have set us an example. In France and Italy, as members of our Society well know, there has, since the war, been a marked renaissance of classical studies. There the education authorities have taken the lead in laying down the principle that the national culture is and must be based on the classics; and though there will no doubt be fluctuations in the extent to which this creed is carried into practice (and there are, in fact, signs of such a fluctuation in France to-day), I do not think the principle will be denied. Its truth, in the Latin countries, is too obvious. There the politician has spoken before the scholar. With us the scholar has still got to move the politician. Nor is the present time unfavourable. Classical scholars, as such, have no politics; but at least we can recognise that the leaders of the Labour Party are interested in education, and that many of them realise the value of Greek and Latin. I trust it will be their policy, as it is the policy of several among them, not to decry the classics as a preserve of privilege, but to claim admission to that preserve for able students of every class, and to see that access to it is open in all parts of the country to all who are capable of profiting by it.

If this be granted, we need have no fear for the future of our cause. The qualities of Greek thought, of Greek art, of Greek literature are such that they cannot fail to make their way if only they are given fair opportunity. For these qualities are among the greatest that any civilisation can produce. I will name only three, which all will recognise as pre-eminently Greek: love of beauty, respect for knowledge, and the spirit of free inquiry. Outside the sphere of morality, can we name any gifts that are more desirable for healing the evils of our generation? We who, from the very creed and essence of our Society, are the trustees of Greek studies in this country, have these gifts in our hands. It is our duty and our

privilege to offer them to all who will receive them; to proclaim their excellence to those who are ignorant. Only, like Joshua of old, let us be strong and of a good courage. Let us take to ourselves the word of exhortation of Sarpedon to Glaukus : *"Iopes, let us go forward."*

At the conclusion of the President's Address, Mr. Macmillan tendered the thanks of the Society to Sir Frederic Kenyon for his valued services during the five years of his office now completed. This motion was seconded by Mr. Penoyre and carried by acclamation.

Da. JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1923, TO DECEMBER 31, 1923. Co.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. XLIII, including Index to Vols. XVII-XLII	58	13	0			
" Plates	45	10	0			
" Drawing and Engraving	43	0	3			
" Editing and Reviews	70	19	6			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	122	0	4			
	£88	3	3			
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.		122	13	0		
" Hellenic Society		43	12	0		
		165	25	8		
" Receipts from Advertisements		21	3	4		
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ..		671	14	3		
	£858	2	3			

LANERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1923, TO DECEMBER 31, 1923.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	66	3	14			
" Slides for Hire	19	6	7			
" Photographs for Reference Collection	0	3	04			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	60	3	3			
	£154	16	0			
By Receipts from Sales and Hire		146	13	0		
" " Sale of Catalogues		3	4	9		
" Donation		1	0	0		
	£154	16	0			

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1923, TO DECEMBER 31, 1923.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	32	15	0			
" Binding	36	19	9			
	£80	14	9			
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.		16	0			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account		80	2	0		
	£80	16	0			

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1923.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Debts Payable	670 3 4	By Cash in Hand—Bank	884 16 3
“ Subscriptions paid in advance	59 3 6	Assistant Treasurer	16 1 4
“ Endowment Fund	643 18 0	Petty Cash	26 13 2
(includes legacy of £500 from the late			
Canon Adam Farrer and £250 from		Debts Receivable	927 12 10
the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)		“	284 16 4
“ Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and		“ Investments (Life Compositions)	1651 3 4
Furniture)		“ (Endowment Fund)	500 0 0
Total Received	394 18 6	“	2654 3 11
“ Life Compositions and Donations—		Less Reserve against Depreciation	100 0 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1923	2204 14 0		2554 3 11
Received during year	34 12 0	Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426 0 0
2236 6 0		“ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	345 8 0
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Ac-		“ “ Library	230 0 0
count—Members deceased	58 17 0	“ Paper in hand for printing Journal	42 0 0
Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1923	230 0 0		
Add Balance from Income and Expenditure			
Account	37 12 6		
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1923	574 1 9		
	<u>64010 15 11</u>		<u>64010 15 11</u>

Examined and found correct

(Signed) C. F. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

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- Plato.** Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates and Crito. Edited with notes by J. Burnet.
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B 779 " Porta Ferrea (drawing, 1848).

III

- B 851** **Arles, Theatre.** Standing columns with architecture.
B 852 " " View along stage showing gutter.
B 853 " " Reliefs of chariot-racing.
B 854 " " Reliefs: friezes with floral designs: military scenes.
B 856 **Autun, Porte d'Arcon.**
B 855 " **Porte S. Martin.**
B 857 " " "
B 858 " **Roman tower.**
B 860 **Cavaillon:** triumphal arch.
B 861 **Orange:** the triumphal arch.
B 862 " coffers of the soffits of the arch from below.

B 884 **Segovia,** the aqueduct.

B 885 **Malta:** Mnajdra: trilithons at entrance to megalithic temple.

B 594 Map of Roman Britain. By R. G. Collingwood.

B 600 **Chedworth,** Roman Villa.

B 748 **Hardknott Castle** and the **Scarfell range** (*Legacy of Rome*, fig. 2).

B 687 **Roman Wall:** an attack on the fort at **Hornsteads.**

B 749 **Silchester,** plan of (**Haverfield, Ancient town-planning**, fig. 31).

B 750 " plan of central insula: forum, church, etc. (*id.*, fig. 32).

Prehistoric.

Pottery.

- C 961** **L.M. I.** vase from **Psira**, spiruliform decoration (Cf. *Seager, Psira*, fig. 9).
C 962 " " decorated with double axes (Cf. *Seager, Psira*, pl. 7).
C 963 " basket-shaped vase from **Psira** (Cf. *Seager, Psira*, fig. 12).
C 856 Mycenaean stirrup vases found inside large pithos (*B.S.M. excavations, 1923*)
3890 Late Mycenaean pottery from **Cyprus Rhodes, etc.**, and from **Egypt.**
3891 Minoan and Helladic pottery from Mycenaean shaft graves.
C 960 Silver vase from **Phoenician tomb** showing Aegean influence.

Other Arts.

- C2297** Gesso relief: Youth with headdress of ribes and feathers. **Cnossos.**
C 482 Shrine of snake goddess: tentative arrangement (*Evans, Palace, i.*, fig. 377).
C 298 Suetite pyxis from **Cnossos:** a boxer (outline drawing).
C 270 Cornelian prism from **Cnossos:** cat and snake.

A 87 **Altamira:** fresco of a lion.

Inscriptions, &c.

- C2421** Elgin bronze **Leyes** from the 'tomb of **Aspasia**, **B.M.**
C2422 " " rim showing inscription.
C2423 " " rim (drawing only) showing inscription.
C2424 Inscription in honour of the **Kleoniads** who helped the Athenians at the battle of **Tamgru** (*Hicks and Hill, Greek Hist. Ins.*, p. 42, No. 29).

C2425 **Ephraim** notation from a Gospel lectionary (prob. 9th century). **Cambridge.**
Fitzwilliam Mus., Maclean MS. No. 1.

C2426 **Russian** names: late **Semantic** notation, c. 1800.

Sculpture.

And Allied Arts.

* = taken from original or adequate reproduction.

- C2303** The Princess Nefert.* Wooden seated statue (Cairo Museum).
A 82 Upper portion of a female funerary statue * from Egypt.
C2306 Assyrian relief : * (below) lion emerging from cage; (above) keeper in slither.

- A 77** Centre of the E. Pediment from Argina * restored (after Furtwängler).
5521 W. Pediment of Parthenon: *Demeter* * [1] Fig. Q (*J.H.S.* xiii, pl. 5a).

- 3097** Amazon sarcophagus * from Coesarea, front.
3098 " " " " back.
3099 " " " " right end.
3100 " " " " left end.
5429 Amazon sarcophagus * from Sidon, B.M., front view.
5430 " " " " left end.
5431 Sarcophagus from Lyria, B.M., back view : * confronted griffons.
5432 " " " " end view : * combat scenes.
B9189 Pompeii : 'House of Achilles.' Stucco relief.*

Bronzes.

- C2533** Bronze statuette of Athene * from Sparta : 2 views.
C 297 Bronze wrestler.* Naples Mus.
B 859 The Nile of Brescia.*

Terra-cottas.

- 5433** Terra-cotta slims : confronted griffins (Furtwängler, *Neue Denkschriften*, pl. 9).
C 277 Terra-cotta owl (Device of L'association Guillaume Budé). Louvre Mus.
90 Fragment of a Corinthian plaque showing export of vases (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 8).

Vases.

* = view of whole Vase.

* = from an adequate reproduction of the picture subject.

- C 527** Two Rhodian plates * (C.V.A. I Louvre. II Tr.C. France, sheet 19 Nos. 4 & 7).
C 521 Excavating for * potter's clay (Perrot and Chipiez, Vol. 9, fig. 290).

- C 535** Maenad, int. of cylix Munich (Perrot and Chipiez, Vol. 10, fig. 390).
C 533 Horns, fawn and satyr * (*J.H.S.*, xxxi, pl. 15).
C 531 Heracles and Achelous * stamnos (Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii, p. 293).
C 530 Heracles at Delphi, Phryne vase (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 118).
C 542 Perseus, Medusa, and Athena * B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 1912, pl. 6).
C 532 Death of Argosthes * Vienna (Hoppin, *Euthymides*, pl. 22).
3898 Hydris, the daughters of * Leukippos, &c., B.M. E. 224.
C. 536 Vase in form of a sphinx * B.M. (*J.H.S.*, xiii, 1, pl. 72).

- 291** A purchaser in a vase shop.* R.F. Cylix by Phintias. Baltimore.
C 983 Vase painting : a surgery * (Mon Piot. 13, pl. 13).
C 984 " " * detail.

- c 863 Youth carrying a frond of olive and a votive tablet (Beaudoif, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasen*,
 pl. 9).
 c 884 Temple scene: lady making offering to goddess or priestess: behind, votive limbo
 hanging on wall (Harrison, *Prolegomena*, fig. 103).

Microfilm.

- c 547 **British Museum.** Houses of Roman Carthago: drawing by Alexander Graham.
c 278 **Pompeii:** The watch dog.
c 296 **Rome,** Mosaic of gladiators from the baths of Caracalla.
3900 " " S. Maria Maggiore: Lot and Abimelech.
3902 " " two angels.
c 995 **Vienne,** Orpheus playing the lyre: on either side a tree.

Colony.

Geographical

- | | |
|-------|---|
| C 892 | (1) Achaean League, 4th century, R. statar. |
| | (2) Aetolian League 3rd century R. statar. |
| C 891 | Assyria, lead tesserae (Num. Chr. 1922, p. 176). |
| B 822 | Beneventum, Com. Teate R. |
| C 899 | Chalcis or Olynthus? R. tetra drachm, drachms and hemidrachms, 6th century B.C.
agonistic types. |
| C 895 | (1) Chalcis or Olynthus, R. statar (Num. Chron. 1922, vii, 4).
(2) Argina R. statar 6th century B.C.
(3) Curetia (Cosa) " " " " " " |
| C 870 | Cypriote Alexanders: Kition (Num. Chron. 1915, pl. 12). |
| C 871 | " " " " " " " " cont. |
| C 872 | " " Salamina " " " " pl. 13.) |
| C 873 | " " " " " " " " cont.) |
| C 874 | " " " " " " " " pl. 14.) |
| C 875 | " " " " " " " " cont.) |
| C 876 | " " " " and Paphos (Num. Chron. 1915, pl. 15). |
| C 877 | " " Paphos and Marion " " " " cont.) |
| C 896 | Magnesia ad Maesandrum, 4th-3rd century B.C., R. statars. (N. Chr. 1922, vii, 9). |
| C 898 | Panticapaeum, N statars c. 350-300 B.C. |
| 3572 | Pergamon: i. Lucius Verus (B.M.C. Mysia, pl. xxix, 7).
ii. Temp. Domitian Hadrian (B.M.C., Mysia, pl. xxviii, 2). |
| B 835 | Roman religious types. |
| B 836 | " military types. |
| B 837 | " military types. |
| B 838 | " provincial types. |
| B 839 | " "Consecratio" types. |
| B 840 | " buildings. |
| B 841 | " senate, knights, people, etc. |
| B 842 | " imperial largesses, endowments, etc. |
| B 843 | " foreign policy. |
| B 844 | " Imperial portraits—Augustus—Constantine I. |
| B 845 | " Britain. |
| B 846 | " Britain. |
| B 847 | Romano-Campanian, R. |
| B 848 | " R. |
| B 849 | " R. Arpi, Nuceria R. |
| B 820 | " R. |
| B 821 | " N., R. |

- c 897 (1)? Samos, El. stater (Ionian Revolt).
 (2) Phocaea, El. hekte (c. 450) *Num. Chr.* 1922, vii, 19.
 (3)? Abydos, El. stater (Ionian Revolt).
 c 894 Thasos, *N.*, half stater
 R. Tetradrachm, c. 400 B.C.
 c 893 Thurium, *R.* stater and didrachm, c. 400 B.C. (*N. Chr.* 1922, Pl. vi, 1).

Dynasts.

- 3573 Antoninus Pius. *R.* shows the arrival of Aemilius in Rome.
 s 823 Augustus, *N.*, *R.*
 s 824 " *R.*—'Cicophoric' Medallion.
 s 825 " *N.*, *R.*—East.
 s 826 " *N.*, *R.*—Spain.
 s 827 " *R.*—East.
 s 828 " *N.*, *R.*—East.
 s 812 Galba, *N.*, *R.* Posthumous.
 s 813 " *R.*, *R.* Posthumous.
 s 814 " *R.* Posthumous.
 s 815 " *R.* Posthumous.
 s 834 Herennia Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus, Pustilian *R.*
 s 801 Nero, *R.* Portraits—Rome.
 s 802 " *R.* Portraits—Rome and Lugdunum.
 s 803 " *R.* Portraits—Lugdunum.
 s 804 " *R.* Portraits—Lugdunum.
 s 829 Philip I, *R.* Mint-mark Λ — γ .
 s 830 " *R.* Mint-mark I-VI ('Saeculares Augg').
 s 831 Trojan Decius, *R.* First issue.
 s 832 " *R.* Second issue.
 s 833 " *R.* Third issue. 'Consecration' series.
 s 805 Vespasian, *N.*, *R.* Rome.
 s 806 " *N.*, *R.* Lugdunum, Tarraco, Illyria.
 s 807 " *N.*, *R.* Tarraco, Illyria.
 s 808 " *N.*, *R.* Ephesus, Byzantium, Tyre, etc.
 s 809 " *N.*, *R.* Antioch, Alexandria, etc.
 s 810 " *R.* Rome, Lugdunum, etc.
 s 811 " *R.* Rome, Tarraco (?)
 s 812 " *R.* Posthumous.

Technical.

Coins illustrating ancient methods of coining (cf. *Hill, Num. Chron.* 1922, p. 1).

- c 881 Demetrius I and Laodice of Syria. *N.* and *R.* staters.
 c 882 Athenian tetradrachm, die of (*Carroll Num.*, p. 285).
 c 883 (1) (2) Achaean League 4th century *R.* stater and drachm.
 (3) Elysiac *R.* 2nd century A.D.
 c 884 (1) Segesta *R.* (*N. C.* 1922, pl. 1, 18).
 (2) Alycia *R.* stater 4th century B.C.
 (3) Lycia *R.* (*N. C.* 1922, i, 19).
 (4) *R.* Jewish (Alex. Jannaeus).
 c 885 Peperatulus. *R.* stater c. 480 B.C. dolphin—rider reverse.
 c 886 *R.* and *R.* blanks prepared for striking? 1st cent. B.C.
 c 887 Ptolemy I as satrap of Egypt. *R.* staters: Alexander (head Pallas Promachus).
 c 888 Diagram to illustrate the process of coining.
 c 889 Edges of ancient coins—various representative types.
 c 890 Jewish Rupees. *R.* (1) Antigonus (2) Alexander Jannaeus. (3) Hircanite *R.*
 B.M.C. Arabia, pl. iv, 2-5.
 s 847 Roman methods of Coinage (T. Cassius and Scribonius Libo).

Miscellaneous.

- c 848 Imixed bronze disc: nymph and Pan. B.M.
c 295 Roman helmet, with face mark, from Ribchester. B.M.

- B9792 Antioch Chalice: general view: Christ in centre.
B9063 " " " " " "
B9661 " " " " S. Matthew in centre.
B9793 " " " " before cleaning: St. James the Less in centre,
B9794 " " " " key plan.
B9664 " " " " "
B9795 " " " " the two Christs.
B9796 " " " " SS. Paul and Jude.
B9797 " " " " SS. Andrew and James the Great.
B9798 " " " " SS. James the Less and Peter.
B9799 " " " " SS. Mark and Matthew.
B9800 " " " " SS. Luke and John.
B9062 " " " " S. Matthew.

- c 548 Interior of a silver cup. Eros with guitar (Petrograd, *Comptes rendus*, Atlas 1881, pl. 2, drawing only).
c 996 Greek lyre. B.M.
c 541 Waxed diptych from the Fayum: An overseer's daybook (*J.H.S.*, xli, p. 217).

- c 993 Forceps (Dr. L. W. Sarnon's collection).
c 994 Knife, probe, and dental forceps (*id.*).
c 999 Bronze hair pin, female head (*id.*).
c 990 " " " " (*id.*).
c 991 Bronze razor (*id.*).
c 886 Surgical instruments from Colophon (*J.H.S.*, xxxiv, pl. 10).
c 981 Surgical instruments from Colophon (*J.H.S.*, xxxiv, pl. 11).
c 982 Surgical instruments. B.M.
3889 Relief: box of surgical instruments between two cupping vessels.
c 992 Terra-cotta votive model of internal organs (Sarnon collection).
c 983 Terra-cotta votive lungs (Meyer-Steinung, *Darstellungen vortaderter Körpertheile*, pl. 2).
c 980 Terra-cotta female torso, *id.*, pl. 3.
c 987 Terra-cotta child in womb, *id.*, pl. 4.

From Dr. Louis W. Sarnon's collection of terra-cotta models of parts of the body dedicated by patients.

- c 865 An eye.
c 866 Interior of mouth shows teeth, palate, windpipe, etc.
c 868 A larynx.
c 870 Torso, chest opened showing organs.
c 871 Female patient.
c 872 Female breast, inscribed.
c 873 Arm with skin disease.
c 874 Head with goitre.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, ν , α , α , υ , by *y*, *a*, *ae*, and *u* respectively, final $-\omicron$ s and $-\upsilon$ s by *-us* and *-um*, and $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$ by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong ϵ , it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in $-\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$ must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in $-\epsilon$ and $-\alpha$ terminations, e.g., *Prione*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$, as *Αἰαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form $-\omicron\alpha$ is to be preferred to $-\alpha$ for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonou*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apozymenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegea*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii, 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protophones* (*Jahrb.* xviii 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Att. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Fortwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum.
Ep. 'App. = 'Επιστολὴ Ἀππαλονίου.
G.D.I. = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Græcae.¹
I.G.A. = Rühl, Inscriptiones Græcae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wiesehr, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- | | | |
|-------------|--------|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. = | Inscr. Atticæ anno Roebliæ reformationis. |
| " | II. = | " actatis quæ est inter Rom. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| " | III. = | " actatis Bononiæ. |
| " | IV. = | " Argolidis. |
| " | VII. = | " Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| " | IX. = | " Græciæ Septentrionalis. |
| " | XII. = | " insul. Mariæ Aegææ præter Delum. |
| " | XIV. = | " Italica et Siciliae. |

Num. Chr. = Numismatische Chronik.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mith. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.
- () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has *iota adscript*, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as *subscript*.

The *aspirate*, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ' .

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

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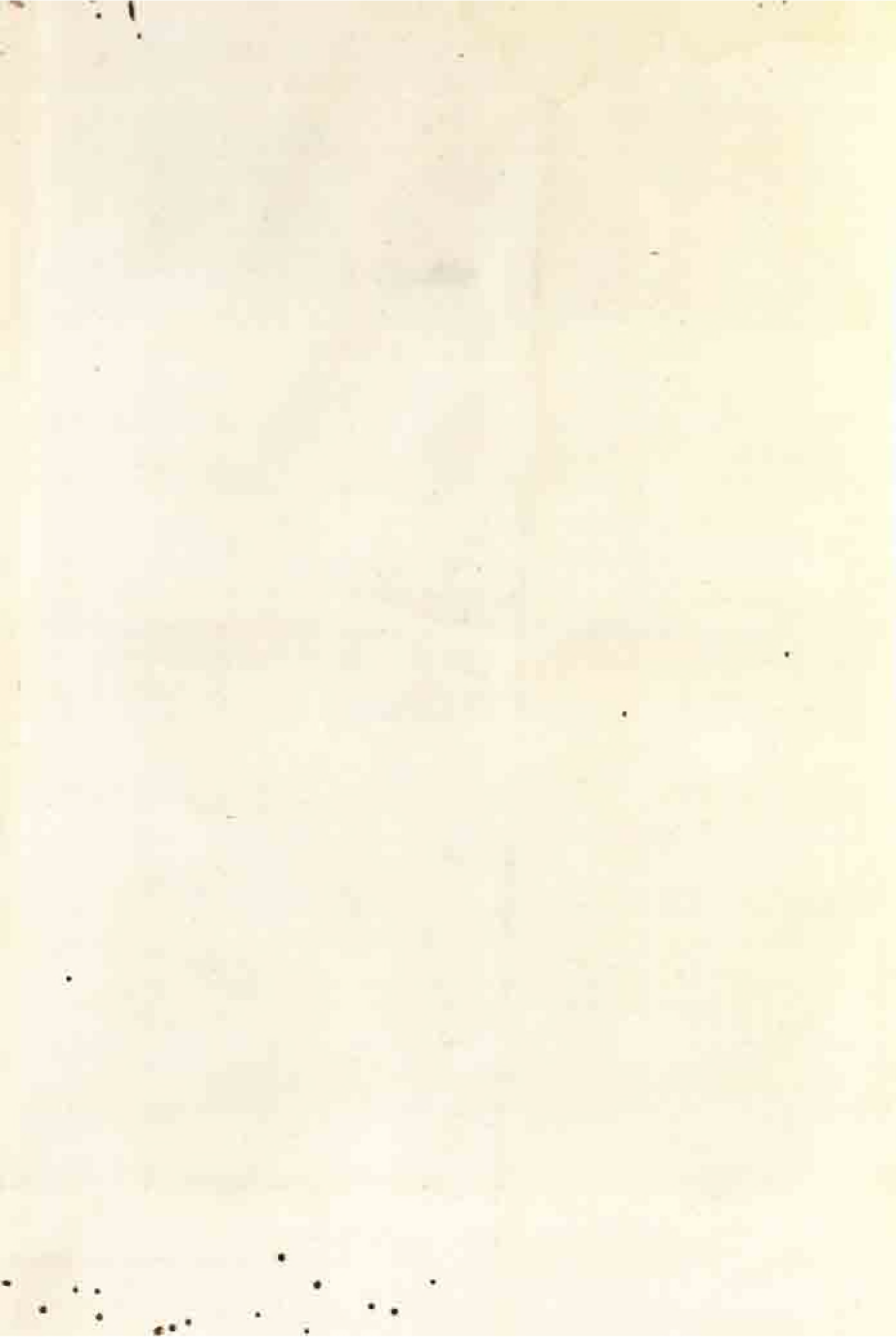
The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.



POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS; NAUCRATIC FABRIC, CLASSES A AND B.

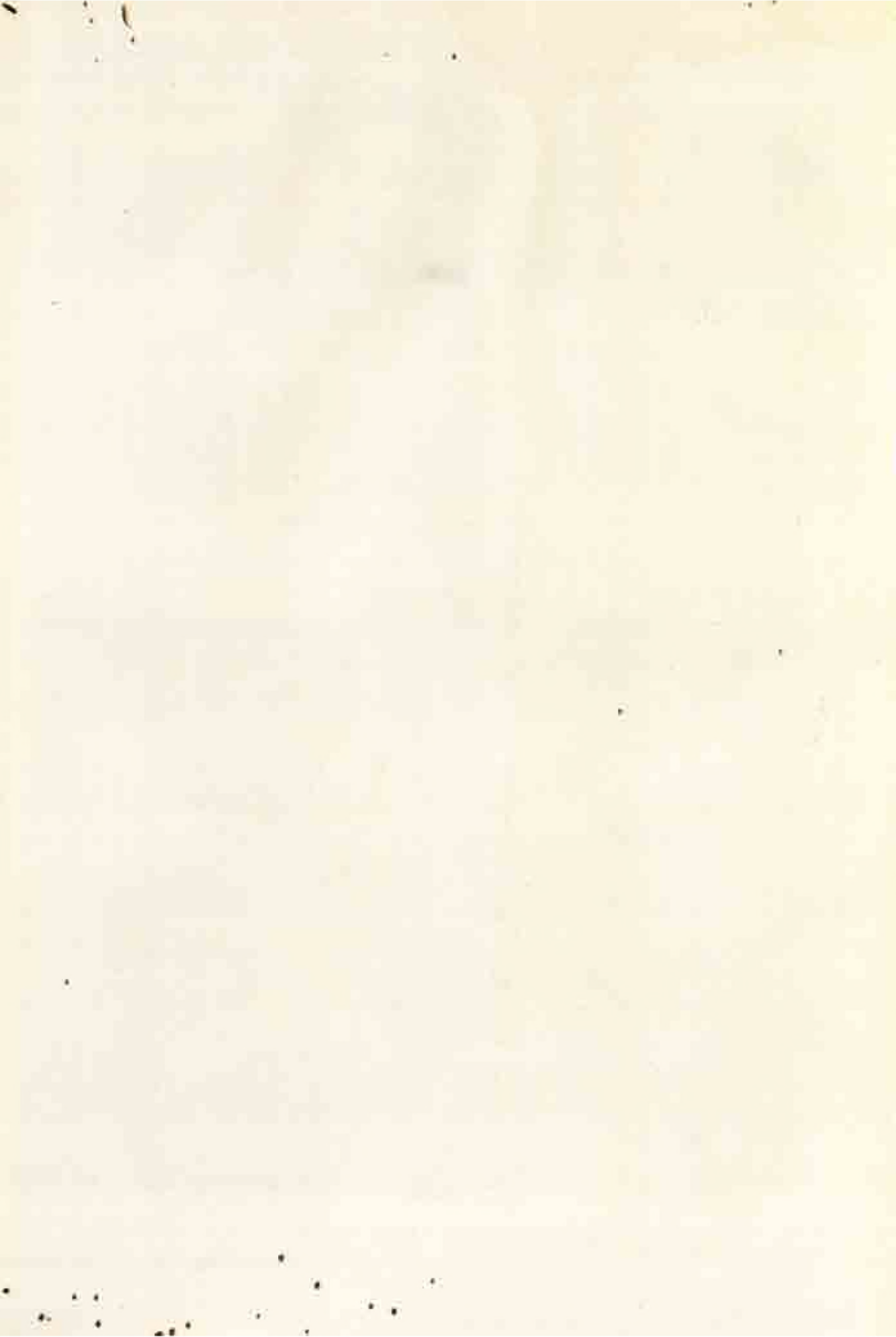


POTTERY OF NAOCRATIS: RHODIAN DISHES, CLASSES A AND B



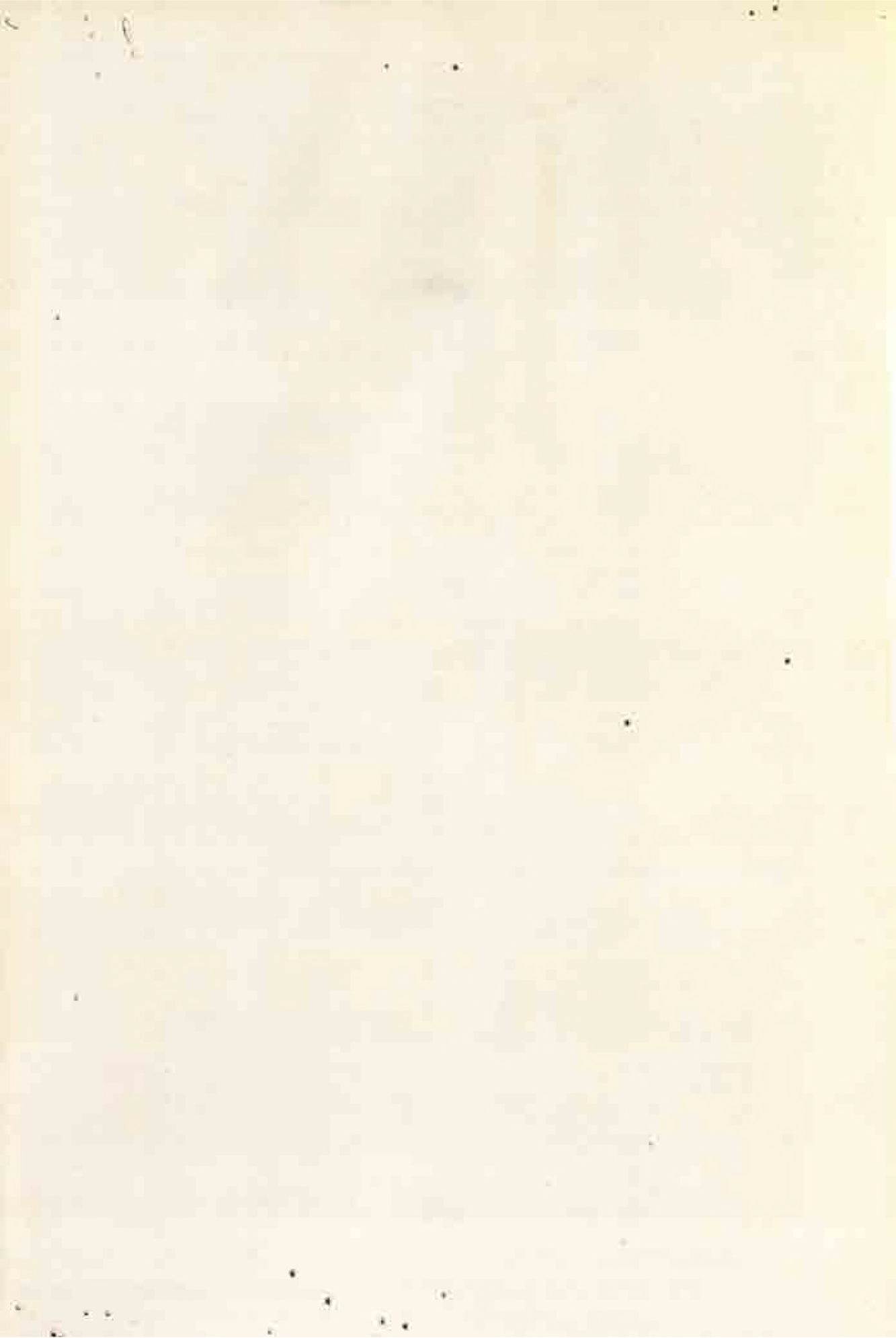


POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS: RHODIAN FABRIC, CLASSES A AND B





POTTERY OF NAOCRATIS: NAOCRATITE FABRIC, CLASSES A AND B





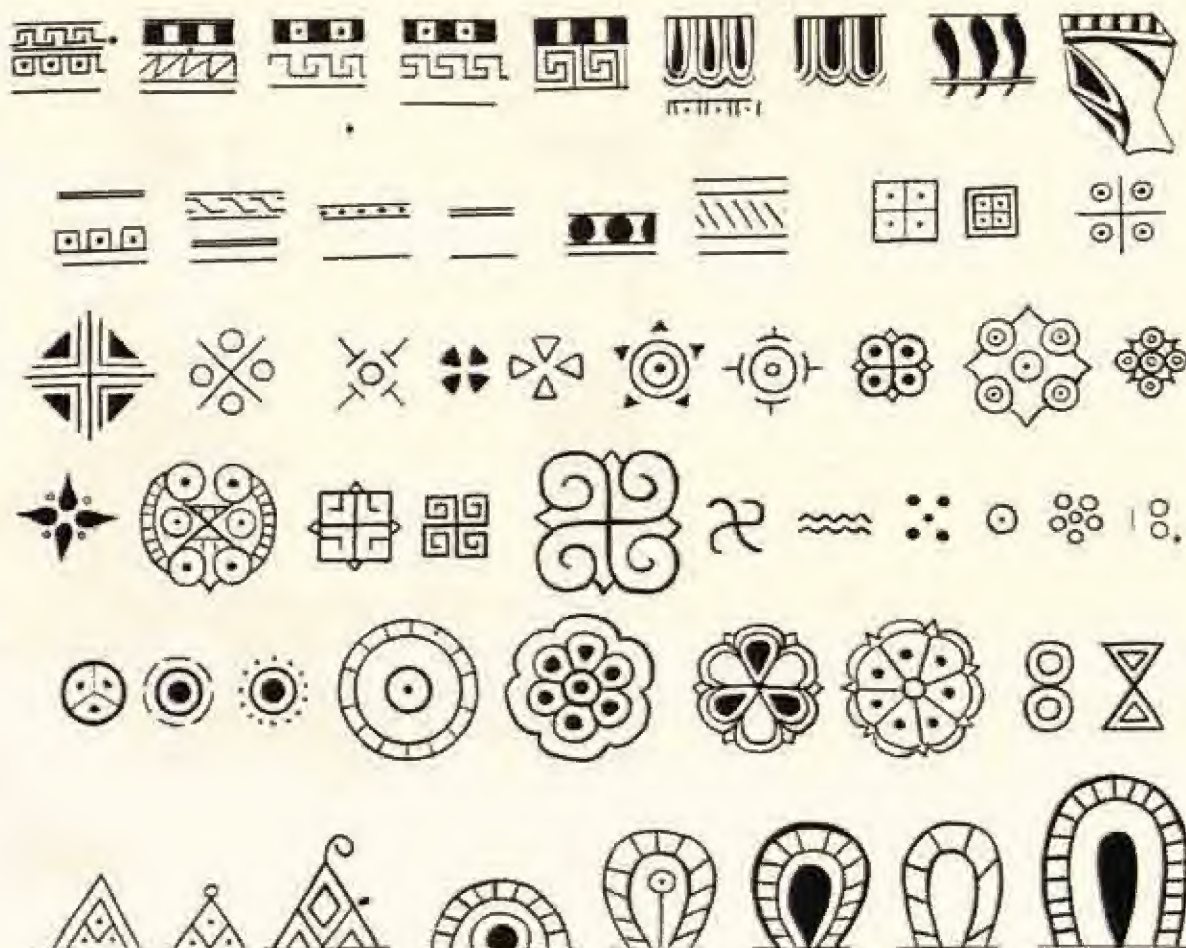
POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS: NAUCRATITE FABRIC, CLASS A





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POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS: NAUCRATITE FABRIC, CLASS B (I)

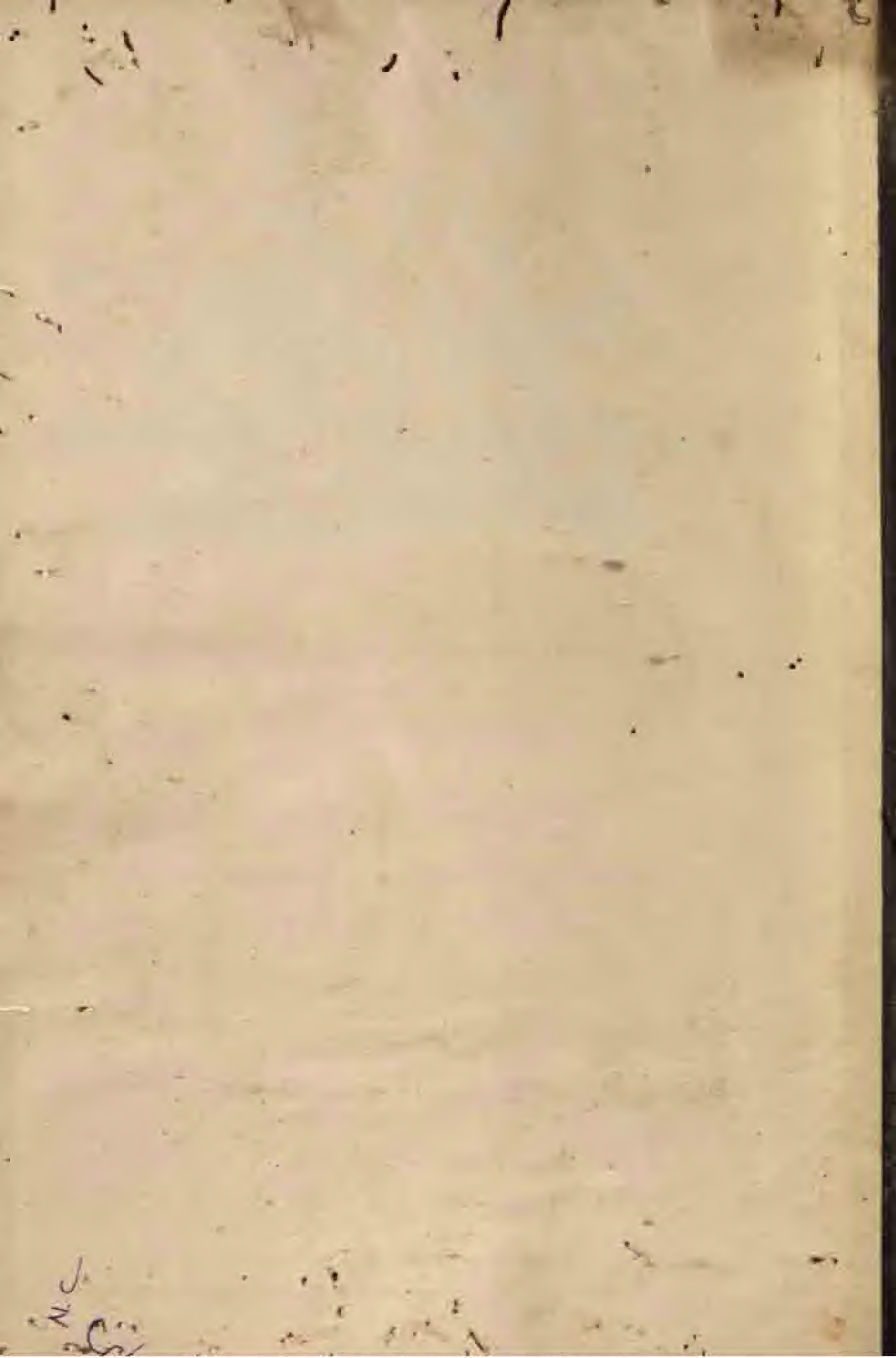


POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS: PATTERNS ON NAUCRATITE FABRIC, CLASS A





POTTERY OF NAUCRATIS: NAUCRATITE FABRIC, CLASS B (2)



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